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THE

NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE

AND

JOURNAL OF

THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY



THE
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE
AND
JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

EDITED BY
HERBERT A. GRUEBER, F.S.A.,
KEEPER OF COINS, BRITISH MUSEUM.
AND
OLIVER CODRINGTON, M.D., F.S.A., M.R.A.S.

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I.

THE TYPE OF THE JEWISH SHEKELS.

ONE of the most interesting problems in the study of Jewish coins arises from the fact that obedience to the Second Commandment prevented the nation from striking money with the effigy of the ruler, or indeed with the likeness of any living creature at all. On the one hand, this robs them of the interest which attaches to most series of ancient coins. It is difficult to learn much of religion, manners, or customs from the coins, except from what does not appear. On the other hand, it exercises the ingenuity to the highest degree in order to discover what is the meaning of the types which are extant.

I wish in this paper to make a suggestion with regard to the types, which appear on the well-known silver shekels and half-shekels, at the present time, attributed to Simon Maccabaeus.

They cover a period of five years, from 141 B.C. to 136 B.C., and belong to Simon Maccabaeus, though possibly the last year of issue ought properly to be attributed to John Hyrcanus, the successor of Simon.

Their description is as follows:—

Obv.—A chalice without cover. Above, the year of issue.
Border of dots. Legend,

שֶׁקֶל יִשְׂרָאֵל : Shekel of Israel.

Rev.—A triple lily. Border of dots. Legend,

יְרוּשָׁלַם הַקְדוּשָׁה : Jerusalem the Holy.

For the sake of completeness, it should be added that there is a slight difference between the type of the shekels and half-shekels of the first year, and that of the rest of the series.

Thus on the coins of the first year the chalice on the obverse is not jewelled, but has a pellet on either side below the rim. This might be a rude representation either of jewels or of handles.

The date above the chalice פ (x) is not preceded by the letter W for שנה, that is, "year." The rest of the series runs: שW year 2, גW year 3, אW year 4, עW year 5.

On the reverse, again, the legend is different. On the coins of the first year it reads, ע W ט ר ש ז W י ג זל that is ירושלם קדשה, Holy Jerusalem.

The coins of the fifth year are of hasty and inferior workmanship, and there are no half-shekels of this date at present known.

The interpretation of the obverse has usually been the pot of manna which was laid up in the Tabernacle and then in the Temple of Solomon (Exod. xvi. 33), but both Cavedoni and Levy raise the appropriate objection that the chalice has no cover, and Madden, although he is cautious, inclines to their objection, especially as there is a coin of the first revolt which exhibits a chalice with a cover.

The famous forgery of the seventeenth century represents the chalice as a censer, from which copious fumes of incense issue. It is as unlike the original as it is possible to conceive.

The reverse type has been taken to represent Aaron's rod, which budded (Numb. xvii. 8), though it is fair to state Madden quotes Cavedoni's opinion, that it represents a hyacinth or lily, according to the words, "I will

be as the dew to Israel: he shall blossom as the lily" (Hos. xiv. 5).

It is evident from his footnote that he does not agree with Cavedoni.

M. Théodore Reinach, in his admirable monograph on Jewish coins, translated by Mrs. G. F. Hill, does not face the question.

It is tempting to accept the interpretation that the chalice is the pot of manna and the lily the rod of Aaron, which budded, and to close the whole matter with a quotation from Heb. ix. 4: "The golden pot that had manna, and Aaron's rod that budded."

To my mind this seems unsatisfactory, and therefore I suggest the following explanation of the type with becoming modesty.

Simon Maccabaens was before all else a patriotic Jew, vigorously opposed to Hellenistic influences. Somewhere between B.C. 170 and 117 the Book of Ecclesiasticus was written. Simon was not of the true high-priestly descent: he would, therefore, feel it necessary to use all he could to assist his claims. The Book of Ecclesiasticus would supply the very necessity he demanded. Chap. L. is taken up with a description of the qualities of Simon, the high priest, the son of Onias. It was more than a coincidence that his name was the same as that of him who is eulogized in the Book of Ecclesiasticus.

A few quotations will illustrate the whole—

"He was as the morning star in the midst of a cloud . . . and as the flower of roses in the spring of the year, as lilies by the rivers of waters . . . as a vessel of beaten gold set about with all manner of precious stones . . ." (vers. 6-9).

"He stretched out his hand to the cup, and poured of

the blood of the grape, he poured out at the foot of the altar a sweet-smelling savour unto the most high King of all " (vers. 14, 15).

It is not difficult to conceive that this is the imagery on which the device upon the shekels was founded.

The type of the obverse presents no particular difficulty. Here is the "vessel of beaten gold set about with all manner of precious stones," the cup from which the high priest poured out the blood of the grape. It would clearly and sufficiently signify the religious office of Simon.

The type of the reverse presents a first difficulty, because it is not easy to make up one's mind what the flower is. Is it the flower of the rose, or the lily by the rivers of waters? Obviously some early-flowering plant is intended in the Book of Ecclesiasticus. The *Encyclopaedia Biblica* suggests that by "rose" in this passage is meant "rhododendron." Whatever the flower on the coin is, certainly it more resembles a rhododendron than a rose, as we are acquainted with it, but it can scarcely be identified with the former.

With regard to the lily, Professor Stanley (quoted in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*) says, "The only 'lilies' which I saw in the months of March and April were large water-lilies." Obviously the flower of our coin is not one of these. He goes on to suggest that the name "lily" may include the numerous flowers of the tulip or amaryllis kind, which appear in the early summer or autumn in Palestine. Here, again, there is a ready resemblance. Lastly, it may possibly be a conventional lily, such as those with which the capitals in the Temple were adorned; but this is immaterial. The balance of conjecture is for the lily, especially as the

coin of Jerusalem next in date is the small copper of Antiochus Energetes of B.C. 132-1, in which the flower is indubitably a lily.

I make two suggestions at this point.

(i.) That this passage in Ecclesiasticus suggested the device.

(ii.) That the flower is in some way a spring flower, probably a lily.

Now, allowing that the coin was issued by Simon Maccabaeus, as a rigid Jew, especially opposed to the Hellenistic tendencies of the day, he would shrink from any effigy which might be held to violate the Second Commandment. He might equally be shy of inscribing his own name upon the coin, and the legend, "Jerusalem the Holy," would hold a more patriotic and popular appeal. Such an action would be wholly consonant with the character and policy of the noble Simon. With a like reserve, though obviously dictated from different motives, some of the coins of the last revolt, both silver and copper, read "Jerusalem" instead of "Eleasar" or "Simon." Could Simon in any way designate the coin as his own without raising either religious or political scruples?

I make the third suggestion. "Simon" means "the burst of spring." Both the rose and the lily belong to "the spring of the year" in the passage I have quoted.

The flower, then, would be a caunting or punning symbol of Simon's name, just as the chalice was the symbol of his office.

If this interpretation is not too far-fetched, then as a last suggestion I venture to propose that the lily is on the obverse of the coin and the chalice on the reverse.

EDGAR ROGERS.

II.

THE COGNOMEN OF THE EMPEROR ANTONINUS PIUS:

ITS ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE CONSIDERED IN THE
LIGHT OF NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE.

(See Plates I. and II.)

I. THE LITERARY EVIDENCE.

THE literary sources for the history of the first Antonine Emperor are scanty, but with reference to the origin and meaning of his surname "Pius" we have almost an *embarras de richesses*. Capitolinus alone gives five reasons for its assumption, and the other authorities all contribute their suggestions. This, of course, simply means that the writers had no reliable information on the subject, but merely put together what they had gathered by way of theory or tradition, or selected what they conjectured to be the most probable reason, and recorded it without discussion. Since, however, it is always possible that a writer, however stupid, may have stumbled upon the truth, more especially if he makes a sufficient number of guesses, I will commence by recording and examining the theories put forward by the principal authorities.

Capitolinus' five reasons, given in his *Life of Pius*, are as follows:¹ Antoninus received from the senate the

¹ *Hist. Aug.*, iii. 2, §§ 3-7: "Pius cognominatus est a senatu, vel quod

cognomen Pius, (i.) because he assisted his aged father-in-law (Annius Verus) in the senate; (ii.) because he saved the lives of certain persons whom Hadrian, during his last disorder, had condemned to death; (iii.) because he insisted upon the customary posthumous honours for his predecessor, in opposition to the general will; (iv.) because he saved the half-mad Hadrian from suicide; or (v.) because he was by nature mild, and in all his life did nothing harsh.

Here we have a sufficiently wide field of choice, but Capitolinus makes no contribution towards a selection, beyond the remark with reference to the first reason,² that to assist one's father-in-law is no great mark of "piety," for it would rather be "impious" *not* to assist him—an honorific surname is won only by a "work of supererogation." Spartianus, however, in his *Life* of Hadrian,³ favours this explanation, while he records two other suggestions (in a passage which betrays clearly the common source). The story upon which it is based occurs in the *Life* of Pius,⁴ where we read how, when Hadrian

soceris fessi jam ætatem manu præsentem senatu levaret, . . . vel quod eos, quos Hadrianus per malam valetudinem occidi jusserat, reservavit, vel quod Hadriano contra omnium studia post mortem infinitos atque immensos honores decrevit, vel quod, cum se Hadrianus interimere vellet, ingenti custodia et diligentia fecit, ne id posset admittere; vel quod vere natura clementissimus, et nihil suis temporibus asperum fecit."

² *Hist. Aug.*, iii. 2, § 3: "Quod quidem non satis magnæ pietatis est argumentum, cum impius sit magis, qui ista non faciat, quam pius qui debitum reddat."

³ *Hist. Aug.*, i. 24, §§ 3-5: "Et Antoninus quidem Pius idcirco appellatus dicitur, quod socerum fessum ætate manu sublevaret; quamvis alii cognomentum hoc ei dicant inditum, quod multos senatores Hadriano jam sævientem abripiisset, alii, quod ipsi Hadriano magnos honores post mortem detulisset;" cf. *ib.* 27, §§ 2-4: "Nec appellatus esset Divus, nisi Antoninus rogasset . . . Quare ut supra dictum est, multi putant Antoninum Pium dictum."

⁴ *Hist. Aug.*, lili. 4, §§ 1, 2.

was doubting whom he should put into the place of the dead Aelius Caesar, Arrius Antoninus entered the senate with his father-in-law leaning upon his arm, and was forthwith selected as the heir to the empire. With this anecdote in view, it can easily be conceived how a biographer in search of the explanation of a name which recalled *Pius Aeneas* with the old Anchises on his shoulders, or the young Metellus' devotion to his father, should have found here what he sought. As history it is in any case hardly worth considering, but when faced with the chronological evidence of the coins it becomes still less acceptable. To this evidence I must here digress.

The coinage of Antoninus Pius starts with his adoption in the year 138.⁵ The first coins, struck evidently immediately after the adoption, which took place on February 25, bear the inscription, IMP. T. AEL. CAES. HADR. ANTONINVS TRIB. POT. COS. The names and titles are all readily explicable. Antoninus, being adopted in the place of the deceased heir to the throne, naturally took, as he had done, the family names of his adoptive father, together with the name Caesar which belonged to the reigning family—T. Aelius Caesar Hadrianus. He became *Imperator* and received the *Tribunicia Potestas* by virtue of the measures conferring upon him imperial powers as his father's colleague. The consulship he already held at the time of his adoption. Following this series of coins comes another series with the inscription, IMP. CAES. T. AEL. HADR. ANTONINVS AVG. PONT. MAX. TR. POT. COS.⁶ The additions here, *Augustus*

⁵ Cf. Eckhel, vii. pp. 2, 3.

⁶ There is one specimen at Berlin with PONT. MAX., which does not bear the title AVG. It is probably a hybrid, since it bears also the inscription COS. DES. II, which most certainly belongs to the period when Antoninus was Augustus.

and *Pontifex Maximus*, make it clear at once that these are the coins struck after his accession on July 10, 138. Hitherto, the name Pius has not appeared at all. It first occurs on coins which have also the inscription COS. DES. II, and which, therefore, were struck during the later months of 138. No long interval, however, can have elapsed between the accession of the Emperor and his assumption of the surname Pius, which would appear to have coincided with his designation to a second consulship; for while there are (to take the Berlin Collection as a standard) only two coins which have AVG without PIVS, there are twenty-one which have neither and sixteen which have both, together with COS. DES. II.⁷ At all events, however, some interval is attested between the accession of the Emperor and the first use of the surname Pius.

The theory of Capitolinus which we are considering attributes the origin of the *cognomen* to an incident which occurred between January 1 and February 25; yet the coins show that the surname was not in use until about August. Although this argument would not be quite conclusive against the theory, if there were otherwise strong arguments in favour of it; yet it seems sufficient to dispose of a theory which has at best so little to say for itself.

The first explanation, then, suggested by Capitolinus cannot pass for more than a conjecture based upon a preconceived notion of what "*pietas*" must mean. The same notion of its meaning underlies the fourth explanation recorded by Capitolinus, which bases Antoninus'

⁷ There are three more with COS. DES. II, where the obverse inscription is so worn that PIVS cannot be read, but it was almost certainly there.

claim to his *cognomen* upon his care for the mad old Emperor, whom he saved from suicide. This theory is not mentioned by Spartianus, but he is in this case our authority for the anecdote which gave rise to it.⁸ The anecdote may be true, but the only thing which, one would suppose, could have induced the senate to celebrate anything that delayed the death of its enemy would be the desire to flatter him during his life; when once he was dead, no delicacy, or respect for his adopted son, restrained the senators from the frankest vituperation of the deceased Emperor. If, therefore, this explanation were the true one, the vote must surely have been passed before the death of Hadrian, and the theory is liable to the same chronological objection as the foregoing, only in a more forcible and fatal form; although, indeed, it scarcely needs such an argument to dispose of anything so trivial.

There is, however, yet a third explanation, attaching to the name Pius this same sense of "filial duty." It is the one given by both Spartianus and Capitolinus, which refers the assumption of the *cognomen* to the dispute between the new Emperor and the senate, in which the former successfully maintained his predecessor's right to the customary posthumous honours. Of the fact of such a dispute there can hardly be reasonable doubt. It is recorded also by Xiphilinus,⁹ who does

⁸ *Hist. Aug.*, i. 24, §§ 8-10.

⁹ *Epit. Dion. Cass.*, lxx. 1 (Dio narrat) ὅτι μὴ βουλομένης τῆς γερουσίας τὰς ἡρωικὰς τιμὰς δοῦναι τῷ Ἀδριανῷ τελευτήσαντι, διὰ τινὰς φόνους ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὃ Ἀντανίνος ἄλλα τε πολλὰ δακρύων καὶ ὀδυρόμενος αὐτοῖς διελέχθη, καὶ τέλος εἶπεν, Οὐδὲ ἐγὼ ἄρα ὑμῶν ἄρξω, εἴγε ἐκεῖνος καὶ κακὸς καὶ ἐχθρὸς ὑμῖν καὶ πολέμιος ἐγένετο· πάντα γὰρ δηλονότι τὰ πραχθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὧν ἐν καὶ ἡ ἐμὴ ποίησις ἐστί, καταλύσετε. ἀκούσασα δὲ τοῦτο ἡ γερουσία καὶ αἰδεσθεῖσα τὸν ἄνδρα, τὸ δέ τι καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας φοβηθεῖσα, ἀπέδωκε τῷ Ἀδριανῷ τὰς τιμὰς.

not, however, connect it with the assumption of the surname Pius. The chronological objection does not apply here with the same force as against the two preceding theories, although here also there is a slight difficulty in this respect. The dispute with the senate must have taken place during the days elapsing between the death of Hadrian and his funeral, and this leaves an extremely short space of time for the issue of coins with AVG. but without PIVS, and it also forces us to put the *designatio* to the second consulship early in July. These objections are, however, by no means fatal. But psychologically there is a difficulty in supposing that the most obsequious senate should have conferred upon the new Emperor a *cognomen* which expressly recalled its own defeat in the first conflict of the reign. The reply, of course, is to hand, that the title was conferred, indeed, by a *senatus consultum*, but only at the request, or the virtual command, of the prince himself, which the senate, however reluctantly, could not but obey. Such a view of the situation is, however, strikingly discordant with the general impression one has of the Emperor's character. He cared little for titles and high-sounding names, and as his policy was conciliatory towards the senate where some great issue was not involved, it is hard to believe that he would have opened his reign with such a high-handed enforcement of such a trifle. At the same time, this theory has, perhaps, more to be said for it than either of the preceding, and we may, perhaps, allow it to stand, pending the consideration of the numismatic evidence, as the only likely or possible form in which the *cognomen* Pius, in the sense of "filial piety," if that sense is to be accepted at all, can be explained.

The remaining two of Capitolinus' explanations are based upon a different understanding of the sense of the *cognomen* Pius. It is taken to refer to mildness of character ("*clementia*"). The particular case of "*clementia*" cited by Capitolinus is his action in saving the lives of certain senators condemned to death by Hadrian "*per malam valetudinem*." This is the reason which is given second in order. The last on the list is the vague statement that the Emperor was "*vere natura clementissimus*," and that in all his life ("*suis temporibus*") he never did a cruel thing. The phrase, "*suis temporibus*," can only mean either "in his lifetime" or "in his reign," and in either case the assumption of the *cognomen* would fall at the close of the Emperor's life, instead of at the beginning, where it really falls. The statement is merely ridiculous, like the remark of Orosius:¹⁰ Antoninus "*republicam gubernavit adeo tranquille et sanete, ut merito Pius . . . nominatus sit*." But that "*clementia*" somehow lies at the bottom of the matter is an opinion widely shared by the ancient authorities. Capitolinus does not make it clear whether the condemned men were left in prison at the death of Hadrian and released by his successor, or whether Antoninus's successful intervention took place during the reign of Hadrian. Spartianus¹¹ is apparently following the same source when he speaks of *multos senatores*, whom Antoninus *Hadriano jam saevienti abripuisset*, making it clear that he thought of the incident as occurring during the last illness of Hadrian, when Antoninus was his subordinate colleague. If so, then this explanation becomes less probable when faced with the same chronological argument that has

¹⁰ Oros., vii. 14, 1.

¹¹ *Hist. Aug.*, i. 24, §§ 3-5.

already invalidated other suggestions. Dio has usually been supposed to refer to the same circumstance in the one explanation he offers of the surname,¹² where he relates how, at the beginning of the reign of Pius, when many persons were accused (informally) and some actually delated, he refused to punish any one.

It seems to me clear that the incident is a totally different one. We are not here dealing with victims of Hadrian's persecution, delivered by the "*clementia*" of the new ruler. It is a fresh outbreak of criminal processes at the beginning of a new reign that gives occasion to the Emperor to display his "*clementia*." Who, then, are likely to have been the victims of these "delations"? Surely it seems most likely that this activity in prosecutions is part of the senate's attack upon the former *régime*, connected with the opposition offered to Hadrian's deification. The phenomenon is quite a familiar one on the death of an unpopular sovereign. It was these representatives of the Hadrianic *régime*, attacked by the senate in the hope of sympathy from the new constitutional ruler, who were saved by the Emperor's firmly humane policy—at least that is the irresistible impression made upon me by the Dionean narrative. If this be true, we are brought up again by the psychological improbability either that the senate should voluntarily celebrate its own defeat, or that Antoninus Pius would have gratuitously insulted the senate by insisting upon an empty honour to himself. But whatever the actual

¹² *Epit. Dion. Cass.*, lxx. 2 (Dio narrat) ὅτι Αὐγουστον αὐτὸν καὶ Εὐσεβῇ διὰ τοαύτην αἰτίαν ἐπωνόμασεν ἡ βουλὴ, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας αὐτοῦ, πολλῶν αἰτιαθέντων, καὶ τινῶν καὶ ὀνομαστὶ ἐξαιτηθέντων, ὁμῶς οὐδένα ἐκόλασεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι, Οὐ δεῖ με ἀπὸ τοιούτων ἔργων τῆς προστασίας ὑμῶν ἀρξασθαι. Note the curious idea that the title Augustus was similarly conferred by the senate as a reward for this "clemency."

incident, and, indeed, whether or no there was any particular incident which led to the conferring of the *cognomen*, there is a strong consensus in favour of the "*clementia*" form of "piety." This sense is implied by Vulcātius Gallicanus¹³ throughout the correspondence which he attributes to Marcus and Faustina; and Eutropius has the simple statement:¹⁴ "*Pius propter clementiam dictus est.*" At first sight it would seem strange that if this were so the name was not Clemens rather than Pius; but the two virtues of "*clementia*" and "*pietas*" seem to have lain very near in the mind of a Roman of the Empire.¹⁵ "*Clementia*," mercy to all men, and especially to such as are in one's power ("*parcere subjectis*"), is a form of "*pietas*," the old family virtue extended to embrace all fellow-citizens and even the whole human race. While, therefore, none of the special instances of "*clementia*" offered seem quite to suit the case, the idea that *Pius* here refers to mercy or mildness of character is one which may stand for further investigation in the light of numismatic evidence.

2. THE *PIETAS* COIN-TYPES.

Among the common types occurring on the coins of Pius are a number distinguished by the legend *PIETAS* or *PIETATI*. The question at once suggests itself, whether

¹³ *Hist. Aug.*, vi. 11, §§ 5, 6: "... *clementia*; haec Caesarem deum fecit, haec Augustum consecravit, haec patrem tuum specialiter Pii nomine ornavit." Cf. 10, §§ 1, 2. The letters are pretty certainly forged, and represent merely the views of Gallicanus or his authority.

¹⁴ *Breviarium*, viii. 8 (4).

¹⁵ Cf. Vulcātius Gallicanus, in *Hist. Aug.*, vi. 12, §§ 7, 8: "... *vestrae pietatis exemplum; nec magna haec est, patres conscripti, clementia* . . ."

these *Pietas* types have anything to do with the *cognomen* borne by the Emperor. In order to answer this question, it will be necessary to give some consideration to the types themselves, with reference to their previous history, and their position in the series of the Roman coinage in general, and so forth; and then, if any special relation of the types to the "piety" of the Emperor himself can be established with certainty or with probability, it will be possible to go further, and from the content and signification of the types to draw conclusions as to the main question of the origin and meaning of the *cognomen* Pius. First, however, these *Pietas* types must be collected and classified.

Among the various types bearing the above-mentioned legend we can distinguish five main classes, as follows:—

- (i.) A female figure engaged in cult-ceremonies at an altar or tripod; with the legend, PIETAS, PIETAS AVG, or PIETATI AVG.¹⁶

Of this general *motiv* there exist numerous varieties of representation. The figure at the altar is clad in the usual long χιτών and loose ἱμάτιον of goddesses in Roman art. Her head-dress is sometimes a diadem, as usually worn by goddesses and female personifications, and sometimes the veil which belongs to the priest or priestess, and on the coins is the ordinary attribute of Vesta and the occasional attribute of other personages when there is some allusion to religion. She stands, as a rule, turning left, before a small columnar altar, which is adorned with garlands, and upon which a flame is usually visible. Her attitude varies considerably. Sometimes she raises both hands above the altar [Pl. I. 1], as if in the act of

¹⁶ Cf. Eckhel, vii. p. 2; Cohen, II. *Antonin*, Nos. 604, 607-615, 619, 633.

prayer. Oftener, only one hand (the right) is extended over the altar [Pl. I. 2], while the other holds an incense-casket [Pl. I. 3, 4], or simply rests upon the hip. Another fairly frequent form varies the *motiv* slightly: in the right hand, stretched out over the altar, is a *patera*, while the left hand holds a sceptre, a common and quite conventional attribute of divinities and personifications of all kinds. Here the moment chosen for representation is the pouring of a libation upon the altar. Alongside of these forms appears yet another, in which a tripod replaces the altar, and the female figure standing before it sprinkles incense upon the flame, while her left hand holds an open incense-casket. Finally, there are some coins inscribed, PIETAS AVG., on which the altar has altogether disappeared, leaving only a female figure with the right hand extended in the act of prayer. This type is obviously only an abbreviation of the normal form, and is to be included in this class, although so important an element as the altar is omitted.

(ii.) A female figure bearing offerings in her hands: with the legend, PIETAS.¹⁷

This type, although still of a religious character, cannot be included in the first class, for the *motiv*, though similar, is decidedly not identical. The altar is here no longer a main feature of the representation; it is quite small, and only half visible in the background. It is therefore, in accordance with the conventions of classical art, not a proper part of the representation, but serves as a symbol to indicate its sacral character. The female figure is dressed in the ordinary χιτὼν and ἱμάτιον, and wears a diadem. She

¹⁷ Cf. Eckhel, vii. p. 20: Cohen, II. *Antonin*, No. 616.

is stepping towards the left, and holds up in the left hand a basket of fruit, while with the right hand she carries a goat by its legs. The little altar in the background intimates that these objects are intended for sacrifice. The type, therefore, represents a worshipper bearing offerings into the temple; it is an earlier moment in the ceremony than that represented in the first class, and the ceremony itself is a different one; a burnt-offering takes the place of incense and libations.

(iii.) A veiled female figure enthroned, holding *patera* and sceptre; with the inscription, PIETAS AVG.¹⁸

This type is quite rare. It differs from the first two classes in the very slight prominence given to the religious element, which is here represented only by the veil and the *patera*. Consequently, although clearly a modification of the libation-type mentioned above, it must be regarded as belonging to a separate class.

(iv.) A female figure accompanied by several children; with the legend, PIETATI AVG.¹⁹ [Pl. I. 5.]

Here we have a completely fresh *motív*. The religious or sacral character of the first two classes has entirely disappeared. This group, therefore, including a considerable number of coins, forms a distinct class of *Pietas* types. There is a further variation in the inscription, which reads, not PIETAS, in the nominative, but PIETATI, in the dative. The types belonging to this group show few varieties. The central figure is a female clad in χιτὼν and ἱμάτιον, with diadem. She stands facing left, and is accompanied by two or more children in various ways. Sometimes she holds a child on each arm, while two rather bigger children stand one on each

¹⁸ Cohen, II. *Antonin*, No. 633.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Nos. 620-632; cf. also 606; Eckhel, vii. p. 26.

side, and stretch their hands towards her robe. Sometimes she has only one child on her arm, and in the right hand holds an orb. A kindred type (uninscribed, however) shows her laying each hand on the head of a child standing beside her.²⁰

(v.) A temple; with the legend, PIETAS.²¹

Coins of this type are not common, and I am not acquainted with any varieties in the representation. The temple is seen in elevation, without perspective. There are eight columns supporting a pediment, and three steps lead up to the entrance. Before each of the outermost columns stands a statue, and between the two innermost two statues are seen in the *cella*, both seated and facing the entrance, a male figure to the left and a female to the right of the spectator. On either side of the temple is a palm-tree.

These five groups comprise all the coins of Pius bearing the inscription, PIETAS or PIETATI. In addition it is necessary to consider the types similarly inscribed, which appear during his reign upon coins struck in the names of the Empress Faustina and of Marcus the crown-prince. In the first place, then, there is a very considerable number of coins of Faustina inscribed PIETAS AVG. and bearing types which fall under class (i.) of the types of Pius.²² The usual form represents a female figure dropping incense upon an incense-altar of tripod form, or what Cohen calls a "candelabrum" [Pl. I. 6]. One example at Berlin is inscribed, PIETAS AVG., and bears a type similar to class (iv.), but not identical with the temple-type of Pius.²³ It represents a hexastyle

²⁰ Cf. Cohen, II. *Antonin*, Nos. 992, 993.

²¹ Cf. Eckhel, vii. p. 22; Cohen, II. *Antonin*, No. 616.

²² Cf. Cohen, II. *Faustina Mère*, Nos. 282-252.

²³ *Ibid.*, Nos. 253-255.

temple with sculptured pediment [Pl. I. 7]. More common is a type representing a large square or rectangular altar, having a door in the centre, and a palmette ornament at each of the top corners; it is hung with garlands, and usually flames.²⁴

Turning to the coins of Marcus, we find an interesting group of coins with the legend, PIETAS, whose types seem to combine elements of the first and third classes of Pius. The simplest form is only a slight variation from the types under class (iii.)—a female figure, wearing a diadem, *χρῶν*, and *ἰμάτιον*, standing looking to left, and holding one child on her left arm, while she extends her right hand towards a child standing at her feet, clothed in a long tunic, facing left and extending the right hand.²⁵ But other coins show curious variations of this type. Sometimes the child held on the arm is missing, and the left hand holds a sceptre [Pl. II. 1], as in some of the specimens in class (i.).²⁶ On other examples the type approaches still more nearly to the sacral character of class (i.). The main figure is dressed in veil, *χρῶν* and *ἰμάτιον*, and holds an incense-casket in the left hand, while the right hand is extended.²⁷ This is almost identical with some forms of the praying type, except that the child standing at her feet takes the place of the altar.

The coins of Marcus show yet another fresh type with the inscription, PIETAS AVG. It represents a group of cult-instruments—a *præfericulum* and *simpulum*, a *cultella*, an *aspersorium*, and a *lituus* [Pl. I. 8].²⁸ The only variations occur in the order of the instruments in

²⁴ Cf. Cohen, II. *Faustina Mère*, Nos. 256-260.

²⁵ Cf. Cohen, III. *Marc Aurel*, No. 443.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 446.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 445.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Nos. 450-461.

the field: sometimes the *cultella* is on the left, and the others follow in the order, *aspersorium*, *præfericulum*, *lituus*, *simpulum*; and sometimes the order is reversed. These two varieties appear on the coins of Pius exactly as on the contemporary issues of Marcus, but without the inscription, PIETAS AVG.²⁹

3. HISTORY AND INTERPRETATION OF THE *PIETAS* TYPES.

The "pious" Emperor is not the first who placed the inscription PIETAS on his coins. For the earliest examples of its use we must go back to the days of the Republic. The first instance of which I am aware is a coin of the Herennian family, ascribed by M. Babelon to the year 99 B.C.³⁰

Obv.—PIETAS. Head with diadem, r.

Rev.—M. HERENNI. Nude male figure, running r., bearing another similar figure on his shoulder.

AR.

[Pl. II. 2.]

The type is taken to refer to a legend of Catana, and to represent Amphinomus or Anapias rescuing his father from an eruption of Aetna. The meaning attached to "*pietas*," therefore, is that of "filial duty." The Herennii may have hailed originally from Catana, but M. Babelon thinks there may be an allusion to the loyalty of M. Herennius, the grandfather of the magistrate who struck the coin, to C. Gracchus. At any rate, the general sense in which "*pietas*" was taken is fairly clear; it is that

²⁹ Cf. Cohen, II. *Antonin*, No. 876.

³⁰ Cf. Babelon, *Monn. de la Rép. rom.*, i. p. 539, No. 1, and note.

of "duty," "loyalty," "*Treue*," in family and social relations.

The next appearance of the inscription is during the troubles succeeding the death of Caesar, on a coin of D. Brutus.³¹

Obv.—PIETAS. Head r., with hair-band and necklace.

Rev.—ALBINVS BRVTI F. Clasped hands with *caduceus*.

R.

[Pl. II. 3.]

M. Babelon explains this coin as an appeal to the loyalty and concord of the citizens, and in particular their loyalty to the senate (with which body the type of the clasped hands and *caduceus* is especially associated). It represents, therefore, an extension of the idea of "*pietas*" contained in the coin of Herennius; that was "*pietas erga parentes*," or "*amicos*;" this is "*pietas erga patriam*," practically the Roman equivalent of "patriotism."

Neither of these coins, however, has done much towards elucidating the origin of the *pietas* types. The type associated in each case with the inscription PIETAS is a perfectly indefinite head, and the reverse type has a more or less direct reference to "piety," but without being intimately identified with it. For the first attempts at the formation of a true *pietas* type we must look to coin-issues which are the direct precursors of the coinage of the Empire. These issues, belonging to the last stage of Republican history, have already the head of a magistrate in place of that of a deity or personification on the obverse, and there is a corresponding development in the character of the reverse. Coins of this character were struck by Sextus Pompeius, and among

³¹ Babelon, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 111, No. 25; and p. 384, No. 10, and note.

them is a considerable series bearing our inscription. I describe a typical specimen :³¹

Obv.—SEX. MAG. PIVS IMP. Head of Pompey the Great, r., bare.

Rev.—PIETAS (in field). Female figure in diadem, χιρὸν, and ἰμάτιον, standing l., and holding in r. hand branch, in l. hand sceptre.

R.

[Pl. II. 4.]

Here the inscription has obvious reference to the surname of the person who struck the coin, a surname which was assumed with reference to his filial piety towards the great Pompey. But in the type we look in vain for any hint of this reference. If the branch which appears in the right hand is an olive-branch, as M. Babelon states, then the figure is identical with the conventional representation of Pax. This is usually explained as an appeal for concord among the striving parties in the State. Sextus, in fact, "holds out an olive-branch," as we say, to his opponents. In that case there might be a vague allusion to "*pietas erga patriam*," parallel to the concord-type (clasped hands and caduceus) of D. Brutus. Civil peace would be *pia*, just as these civil wars were to the poets "*impia bella*." But on the specimen in the British Museum the branch seems to me an unmistakable palm-branch. This would make the confusion worse confounded. In any case, this first attempt at producing an individualized personification of Pietas is not a success. No recognized type was to hand, and the artist has merely appended the inscription PIETAS to a stock-figure, without troubling to create an appropriate type.

³¹ Babelon, ii. p. 350, Nos. 16 *sqq.* Cf. also No. 25, which represents Amphimomus and Anapias, but has no inscription.

A more successful attempt is that made by L. Antonius. There are coins struck by him in the name of his brother the triumvir during the Perusian War, bearing the inscription PIETAS on the reverse.²³

Obv.—ANTONIVS IMP. III VIR R. P. C. Head of M. Antonius r., bare; to l. *lituus*.

Rev.—PIETAS COS. (in field). Female figure in diadem, *χρῶν*, and *ἰμάριον*, standing l., holding in r. hand small flaming altar, in l. hand *cornucopias*, on which two storks.

Δ. and *Ρ.*

[Pl. II. 5.]

Obv.—ANT. AVG. IMP. III V. R. P. C. Head of M. Antonius r., bare.

Rev.—PIETAS COS. (exergue). Female figure in diadem, *χρῶν*, and *ἰμάριον*, standing l., holding in r. hand rudder, in l. hand *cornucopias*; at her feet, l., stork.

Δ. and *Ρ.*

[Pl. II. 6.]

The inscription on the reverse is peculiar. It is explained by the fact that L. Antonius assumed *Pietas* as a *cognomen*. The inscription, PIETAS COS., therefore, is analogous to the names of magistrates regularly placed on the reverse in Republican times. At the same time, the reverse type seems to be an attempt to represent a personification of the abstract *pietas*, with a sort of pun upon the magistrate's name. Taking the first coin, we find that the attributes of the personified *Pietas* are a flaming altar, a *cornucopias*, and two storks. The *cornucopias* is common to many of these allegorical figures, and probably has little or no special significance in determining the character of the type. The other attributes, however, are decidedly significant. The stork was among the classical peoples, as amongst ourselves, a

²³ Babelon, *op. cit.*, I. pp. 173, 174, Nos. 43-46.

symbol of family affection.^{33a} Its presence here, therefore, clearly expresses the meaning of *pietas*, which was more vaguely indicated on the Herennian coin by the reverse type; it is "family loyalty," the mutual devotion of members of the same family. This corresponds with what Dio tells us of the origin of L. Antonius' surname; it was on account of his "piety" towards his brother, we are informed, that he assumed the name *Pietas*.³⁴ But the remaining attribute specializes another side of the quality represented. *Pietas* is not only attended by storks, but she also holds a flaming altar. This suggests at once a religious character. The transition was easy to the Roman mind, which thought of the nation as a great family, bound together by its ancestral religion, and to which the shrine of Vesta was the "hearth" of the State. This type, therefore, need not imply "piety" in the full modern sense, with direct and express reference to the divine, but it clearly does carry in it a hint that religion forms an element in the content of that widely inclusive term *pietas*. The only feature which this type has in common with the other *pietas* type of L. Antonius is the stork. Clearly the aspect for which the stork stands is the constant and prevailing aspect of his "piety." The other attributes of this "*Pietas*" are rudder and *cornucopiae*, which are proper to Fortuna; and, in fact, we can hardly call her other than Fortuna. The inscription *PIETAS* is simply the magistrate's name, and the sole reference to its meaning, which is incorporated

^{33a} Cf. the coins of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius, which have on the obverse a female head (of *Pietas*) and a stork: Babelon, *op. cit.*, i. p. 275, Nos. 43, 44, and note; and Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic*, ii. p. 357, Nos. 43-51, note 2.

³⁴ Dio, xlviii. 5: Διὰ γὰρ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν εὐσέβειαν καὶ ἐπωνυμίαν ἑαυτῇ Πίεταν ἐπέθετο.

in the type, is the stork, and the result of this incorporation is a confusion like that already noticed in the coin of Sextus Pompeius.

This examination of the Republican *pietas* coins shows that the most prominent idea underlying the word was that of the mutual loyalty of members of a family, or of a circle of friends, but it has also clearly revealed the presence of the cognate ideas of "*pietas erga patriam*," and "*pietas erga deos*." The first and third of these conceptions find a place in the one genuine *pietas* type created by the Republic, the Pietas with storks and a flaming altar of L. Antonius.

After the final close of the Republic the first Emperor who places the inscription on his coins is Galba. Nor is this surprising, for Galba is the Republican Emperor, and he revived in his coinage, as in much else of the externals of his rule, many features of the Republic. Cohen describes the following coin in the *Cabinet de France*:—³⁵

Obv.—SER. SVLP. GALBA IMP. CAESAR AVG. Head r., laureate.

Rev.—PIETAS AVGVSTI S. C. Piety veiled, standing l. at lighted altar, ornamented with bas-relief of Aeneas, with Anchises and Ascanius; behind altar, victim.

Æ¹.

[Pl. II. 7.]

³⁵ Cohen, *L. Galba*, No. 160. There is also a coin of Galba (No. 280) inscribed, SENATVS PIETATI AVG., and bearing a type representing a bearded figure, which stands for the senate, placing a crown on the head of the Emperor. This coin is not of great importance for the development of *pietas* types, but if it is more than merely a pictorial representation, so to say, of the senate's admiration for the Emperor's "piety," it might, perhaps, hint that the sphere in which that "piety" was exercised was in the relations of the Emperor with the senate; cf. above the senatorial symbol of the clasped hands and *caduceus* on D. Brutus' coin.

It is remarkable to observe how the first *pietas* coin of the Empire resumes the ideas of its Republican prototypes. The lighted altar is taken from the coin of L. Antonius, and the scene of Aeneas rescuing his father and son from the flames of Troy is parallel to that of Amphinomus or Anapias rescuing his father from the flames of Aetna, which was depicted on the coins of Herennius. But the composition is entirely fresh, and, what is very notable, the religious element is brought strikingly to the foreground. Piety is represented as a woman with the priestly veil worshipping at a flaming altar. She stands, therefore, first of all for worship—"piety" in our modern sense, "*pietas erga deos.*" At the same time, the prevailing Republican sense is recalled by the Aeneas-relief upon the altar. But here again, perhaps, the choice of a subject is significant. It is not any chance example of filial piety that is chosen, such as that of Amphinomus and Anapias, but the great example of Aeneas, the father of the Roman people. When one remembers that the same relief is sometimes found on coins associated, like that of the wolf and twins, with the personified Rome, it seems a fair conjecture that here we have an indirect reference to the old Roman patriotism, which was, perhaps, the most inclusive and characteristic manifestation of what was meant by *pietas* in the mouths of the Republican heroes. All these elements, then—family affection, patriotism, religion—are included in the "Pietas" of Galba's coin. And this is the piety of the Emperor himself, PIETAS AVGVSTI.

This phrase is worth a moment's consideration. It is of a form exceedingly common on the imperial coins. The affix AVGVSTI, commonly abbreviated to AVG., can be

appended to almost any sort of coin-title. It may be used with the name of a divinity, and then implies some special association of that divinity with the Emperor. Thus "*Apollo Aug.*" is the Actian Apollo; "*Mars Aug.*" is probably Mars Ultor, selected by Augustus as the special patron of his house; "*Hercules Aug.*" on the coins of Commodus is at first the god worshipped by the Emperor with special devotion, and comes later to be identified, in the form "*Hercules Commodianus*," with the Emperor himself. Then it is applied to such personifications as are almost on the footing of deities, and thus we get "*Fortuna Aug.*" the fortune of the Emperor, as distinct from "*Fortuna Publica*;" "*Felicitas Augusti*" alongside of "*Felicitas Caesaris*," "*Felicitas Publica*," and "*Felicitas Saeculi*;" "*Securitas Aug.*" with "*Securitas Publica*" and "*Securitas Orbis*;" "*Pax Aug.*" the peace which the Emperor's rule brings; and "*Victoria Augusti*," a victory won by the Emperor. The last comes very near to the purely abstract qualities which are personified merely for symbolic purposes, such as "*Annona Aug.*" the Emperor's care for the corn-market; "*Moneta Aug.*" the imperial coinage (for this figure on the coins does not seem to have anything to do with the original Juno Moneta). The last stage is where purely personal qualities are referred to;³⁶ thus we have "*Clementia Aug.*" the Emperor's mercy; "*Nobilitas Aug.*" the Emperor's nobility; "*Virtus Aug.*," "*Aequitas Aug.*" and many others. In this last class comes "*Pietas Augusti*." It is the piety of the Emperor, and the character of the type may serve to indicate how that piety

³⁶ "*Liberalitas Aug.*" is a sort of complex of the two stages: it stands for the Emperor's liberality; not as an abstract quality, but as exemplified in the particular case of a *congiarium*.

is displayed. The suggestion of the type in this case quite suits what we know of Galba's character and pretensions. He aimed at being the restorer of the good old Roman ways, the "*mos majorum*," the old ideals of loyalty, patriotism, and religion, crushed under a demoralizing tyranny. This is what is expressed in his *pietas* type.

The next appearance of the inscription we are seeking is on a bronze coin of Titus, dated by the obverse inscription to 80 p. C.³⁷

Obv.—IMP. T. CAES. VESP. AVG. P. M. TR. P. P. P. COS.
VIII. Head, r. laureate.

Rev.—PIETAS AVGVSTA S. C. Female figure with diadem, veil, and tunic, standing front, looking r., between Vespasian and Titus, togate, standing face to face, each holding sceptre, and clasping hands.

Cohen calls the female figure in the centre Domitilla. It is much more likely to be the personified Pietas. But the question is not important for our purpose, since the coin stands quite outside of the series of *pietas* types, and has no influence upon any subsequent issues. What is important to observe is that here Pietas clearly has reference directly to family affection and duty, the filial piety of Titus towards his recently deceased father.

The next appearance of the PIETAS legend is on coins of Trajan.³⁸ These are quite obviously modelled on the coin of Galba, but the type is simplified by the omission of the Aeneas-relief on the altar. We see a female figure

³⁷ Cohen, I. *Titus*, No. 151; note that the adjectival form AVGVSTA takes the place of the genitive, without any change of meaning. The usual contraction AVG. might be expanded equally well into either form.

³⁸ Cohen, II. *Trajan*, Nos. 199-201.

in diadem, veil, and $\chi\tau\acute{o}\nu$, standing, facing left, before a plain columnar altar; she holds a sceptre in the left hand, and with the right hand pours from a *patera* a libation upon the altar [Pl. II. 8]. This type is important for our present purpose, as the first appearance of one of the common *pietas* types of Pius (belonging to what I have called the first class). It occurs on three groups of coins, differentiated only by the dating. They are variously inscribed COS. V., COS. V. DES. VI, and COS. VI. Unfortunately, these inscriptions do not suffice to fix the exact years of issue. Trajan's fifth consulship was in 104, his sixth in 112. Thus we can only say that the first group is dated 104-111, the second 111, the third 112-117. Probably, as all these coins seem to belong together, it is probable that they may be dated to 110, 111, and 112 respectively. In any case, however, they are all later than 104, so that any reference to Trajan's relations to his adoptive father Nerva becomes improbable, and indeed there is no hint of any such on the coin itself. The simplification of the Galban form is all in the direction of making the religious element more prominent. The very fact, indeed, of the repetition of a Galban type suggests the meaning, just as Galba's revival of Republican features suggested the meaning of his type. For Nerva and Trajan frequently recall in their coinage elements belonging to the period between Nero and Vespasian, to the interregnum and Republican revival between Gaius and Claudius, and to the Republic itself. They, like Galba, were the restorers of public morality after a period of oppressive rule, and, no doubt, Trajan wished himself to be regarded, like Galba, as a *restitutor morum*, a restorer of the good old Roman *pietas*, with its reverence for the national gods. The very

inscription which invariably accompanies these types on the coins of Trajan, S.P.Q.R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI—recalling, perhaps by accident, Galba's SENATVS PIETATI AVGVSTI—suggests the work of this “excellent prince” as a reformer and a benevolent ruler.

But it is under Hadrian that *pietas* types become really frequent. The form fixed by Trajan is taken over, and subjected to many variations.³⁹ To enumerate them all would be tedious. Many of the forms already noted under Pius first appear in the reign of Hadrian. One or two coins, however, are worthy of separate mention. The first is one struck during the first year of his reign:⁴⁰

Obv.—IMP. CAES. TRAIAN. HADRIANO AVG. DIVI TRA.
Bust r., laureate, loricate, paludate.

Rev.—PARTH. F. DIVI NER. NEP. P. M. TR. P. COS.
(margin). PIETAS (in field). Female figure
with veil and χιτών, standing l., raising r. hand.
R.

The altar is lacking in this representation, but the sacral character is preserved by the priestly garb of the praying figure. The emphasis in the inscription upon the new Emperor's relation to Trajan and to Nerva might seem to suggest a shade of the idea of filial piety, but there is nothing in the representation to suggest this, unless, indeed, the omission of the altar is intended to keep the definitely religious idea rather more in the background. The occasion of the coin may have been the reverence shown to Trajan's memory by his deification; but I am inclined to think that the type means no more than that Hadrian is heir to his “father's” task

³⁹ See Cohen, II. *Adrien*, Nos. 1021-1048.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 1023; cf. also Nos. 1024-1027.

and policy of maintaining the *mos majorum* and all it stands for. It is, perhaps, worthy of note that the inscription is not PIETAS AVG., but simply PIETAS. The coin does not celebrate the personal "piety" of the Emperor, but is struck in honour of that abstract and general *pietas* which covers the whole of the national ethical ideal, and which finds its most characteristic manifestation, its guarantee, and therefore its symbol, in the national religion—"dis te minorem," &c. Of Hadrian's attitude to this national ethic and religion we are told that, although a sceptic, and "*curiositatum omnium explorator*,"⁴¹ yet "*ad priscum se morem instituit*,"⁴² and "*sacra Romana diligentissime curavit, peregrina contempsit*."⁴³ In spite, therefore, of his personal "liberalism," it is not surprising that his coinage is rich in sacral types of Pietas. Among others, he is the inventor of the type praying with both hands uplifted,^{43a} and this is entitled PIETAS AVG.; it is the Emperor's own devotion to the national gods that is represented. Another form of *pietas* type represents a female figure seated, with *patera* and sceptre, entitled, PIETAS AVGVSTI.⁴⁴ Here the sacral character is reduced to a minimum, being represented only by the *patera*. The attributes of Pietas here are, in fact, the same as those of Clementia on the coins of Hadrian and Pius alike. It is evident, therefore, that the two ideas cohere closely, and this type may be taken as emphasizing that side of *pietas* on

⁴¹ Tertullian, *Apol.* 5.

⁴² Life by Spartianus, in *Hist. Aug.*, i. 5, § 1.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 22, § 10.

^{43a} It is worth while to note the close affinity of this type with the Christian *orante*, which appears from about the close of the first century in the paintings of the Catacombs.

⁴⁴ Cohen, II. *Adrien*, No. 1028.

which it approximates to *elementia*, that is to say, the purely human side of "piety" displayed first towards fellow-citizens, and ultimately towards all men. "*Pietas erga cives*" is widened into "*elementia*," which knows no national limits. This extension is characteristic of the cosmopolitan Emperor, who, we know "*elementiae [magnum] studium habuit.*"⁴⁵ There remains for consideration one type which is of especial interest, because it revives a feature lost since the time of the Republic. I describe a coin after Cohen:⁴⁶

Obv.—HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P. P. Bust r., paludate.

Rev.—PIETAS AVG. Piety standing front, raising both hands; to l. a lighted altar; to r. a stork.

R.

[Pl. II. 9.]

Here, to the *Orante* type is added the stork, which formed part of the *pietas* types of L. Antonius. This feature must have been introduced for some special reason. The *pietas* type had started its career on the coins of L. Antonius as the symbol of filial and fraternal "piety." By gradual steps it had lost this character and become almost purely sacral. The reintroduction of the stork must surely be intended to recall to the fore its original significance. Unfortunately, the coin is not accurately enough dated to allow of its association with any special event. The COS. III puts it in the period after 119, and the P. P. narrows down this period to the last ten years of the reign; but nearer than this we cannot come. It is clearly too late to admit of any reference to Hadrian's relations with Trajan, unless it be to the dedication of a temple or shrine to him. There might possibly be an allusion to the deification of Sabina in 136. But the

⁴⁵ *Hist. Aug.*, i. 5, § 5.

⁴⁶ Cohen, II. *Adrien*, No. 1092.

key to the historical bearing of the type is lost, though its significance seems clear on the surface.

We have now traced the history of the *pietas* types from their beginnings under the Republic to the period immediately before the accession of Antoninus Pius, and we are in a position to return to the types of this Emperor, which have already been described, and to consider them more intimately in the light of this history.

4. CONCLUSION: THE *PIETAS* TYPES AND THE NAME PIUS.

The *pietas* coins of Antoninus Pius have already been arranged in five great classes, according as their types exhibit (i.) the praying or worshipping Pietas, (ii.) Pietas bearing offerings, (iii.) the enthroned Pietas, (iv.) Pietas accompanied by children, or (v.) a temple. A closer examination shows that these classes are not contemporaneous. An arrangement according to dates shows a corresponding sequence of three periods, during each of which a different class of type predominates (the third, fourth, and fifth classes falling within the same period). The praying or worshipping Pietas falls entirely within the years 138-144 on the coins of Pius. On the coins of Faustina it occurs only with the legend *DIVA FAVSTINA AVGVSTA*, but as Faustina died in 141, they may well belong to the same period. Within the same years fall Marcus' coins representing a group of cult-instruments and inscribed *PIETAS*. No other form of *pietas* type occurs during these years, if we except the isolated example quoted by Cohen⁴⁷ from Elberling, which has

⁴⁷ Cohen, II. *Antonin*, No. 606.

a peculiar type of Pietas (or Faustina) with two children, and is inscribed PIETAS. This coin is dated by the inscription to February 25-July 10, 138, but I feel very doubtful about it. I have not seen a similar specimen, nor does Cohen report it at first hand, and the appearance of such a type at this time is so surprising that I suspect some mistake. The second period comprises the years 151 and 152, and within this time three different types appear—Pietas bearing offerings, the enthroned Pietas, and the temple. The first of these is the most frequent. Eckhel gives an example of this type dated to 150, but this is not recognized by Cohen. The third period begins with the year 156, and the characteristic type is the group of Pietas with children. The type appears without the descriptive legend in 156, and it is not until 159 that the inscription PIETATI AVG appears with this type. But here the coins of Marcus do not quite fall into the scheme of those of Pius, for his types of Pietas with one or more children, which form a connecting link between the first and fifth groups of Pius' types, appear in the year 149. The remaining coins of Faustina cannot be dated more nearly than to the period after 141.

It is evidently only the first class of types that has a direct bearing upon the question under discussion, for they alone appear during the period in which the name Pius was conferred upon the Emperor.

Now, the preceding historical sketch shows that Antoninus Pius was not the inventor of these types. Further, the earliest coins which bear them are earlier than the first appearance of the *cognomen*, and, in fact, are previous to the Emperor's accession. The question therefore arises, whether the types can properly be held

to have any reference to the Emperor's *cognomen*. I think they can. The second objection mentioned is by no means a fatal one, for the vote of the senate which conferred the right to use the epithet *Pius* as a surname may be regarded as merely giving official recognition to a quality already known to be characteristic of the Emperor; so that we may accept the connexion between the *pietas* types and the Emperor's surname, if it seem to be otherwise probable, even though they be antecedent to its formal assumption.⁴⁸ As for the other objection, it is, of course, true that the earliest coins of Antoninus Pius reproduce with very slight variations the *pietas* types of his predecessor, yet when we consider the very large issue of *pietas* types during the reign of the first Antonine, and the numerous and very striking innovations which continue to be invented throughout the reign, and when we further have regard to the marked prominence of the *pietas* types on the coins of the Emperor's wife and heir during his lifetime, and their comparative insignificance on the coinage of the succeeding reign,⁴⁹ it is hard to believe that the obvious suggestion of a direct relation

⁴⁸ This argument does not impeach the validity of the chronological objections, adduced in § 1 above, to attempts to associate the assumption of the *cognomen* with *particular incidents* occurring before the accession of the Emperor.

⁴⁹ In arguments of this kind the content of the types is more important than the actual number of coins which exhibit it. Thus under Pius the *pietas* types are among those which have the most rich and varied content put into them, and are subject to continual fresh inventions. Under Marcus, on the other hand, *Pietas* falls back into the rank of "stock-types;" it is subject to hardly any variation, and is repeated in an unmeaning fashion along with such common-place types as those of *Aequitas* and *Felicitas*. "Piety" is no longer the characteristic virtue of the Emperor, but one of a series of quite conventional qualities which form the general stock-in-trade of the Empire, without reference to the character or policy of its immediate holder.

between the name of the "pious" Emperor and the "piety" represented on the coins can have been unintentional, more particularly if we bear in mind the connexion of the early *pietas* types with the names of Sextus Pompeius Magnus *Pius*, and L. Antonius *Pietas*.

We may assume, then, that the *pietas* types are intended to have explicit reference to the Emperor's surname, and we are justified in seeking to find in the content of the types some light upon the signification of the name. We have seen that at the close of Hadrian's reign there were three main classes of *pietas* types in use: (i.) the praying or worshipping Pietas; (ii.) the enthroned Pietas, approximating to the character of Clementia; and (iii.) Pietas accompanied by a stork. It is only reasonable to suppose that with this field of choice before him, the new Emperor would select the class of type best fitted to express his own peculiar form of *pietas*. If, therefore, the majority of the literary authorities were right in asserting that the Emperor received the surname *Pius* "*propter clementiam*," we should expect that the *Clementia-Pietas* form of the type, where Pietas is enthroned with the *patera* and sceptre which belong to her sister, would be selected. But this type does not appear at all until the fourteenth year of the Emperor's reign, when his *cognomen* had long been fixed, and then only to disappear at once. Again, if the suggestion were correct, that the *cognomen* was derived from Antoninus' loyalty to his adoptive father's memory, we should expect to see the form revived by Hadrian to give expression to this restricted sense of the term, where Pietas is accompanied by a stork. But neither does this type appear, either here or anywhere else upon the

coinage of Pius. On the contrary, during the period when the *cognomen* first comes into use, it is exclusively the religious forms of the type that are employed. On the coins issued just before and just after the bestowal of the new surname we see Pietas praying, or burning incense, or pouring libations at the altar. At the same time, the inscription PIETAS is placed upon the coins of the crown-prince Marcus with a type representing a group of cult-instruments. Eckhel⁵⁰ is no doubt right in accepting these coins as a record of Marcus' admission to the priestly colleges; but the important point to notice is that almost at the very time when the surname Pius was coming into use, along with religious *pietas* types on the coins, the term PIETAS is used with direct reference to the rites of the State religion as symbolized by the sacerdotal utensils. In short, the "piety of the Emperor" (PIETAS AVGVSTI) is first and foremost "*pietas erga deos*," the crowning point and the guarantee of the "*prisca mores*" of the Roman nation. This corresponds with what we otherwise know of the Emperor's character and policy. Although not θεοσιδαίμων, his adopted son informs us, yet he "did all things after the customs of our forefathers;"⁵¹ and his biographer, in the *Historia Augusta*, records that he never failed, save by reason of sickness, to officiate in person at the public religious rites,⁵² and that he was appropriately compared with Numa,⁵³ the founder of the Roman religion. So, too, we

⁵⁰ Eckhel, vii. p. 46.

⁵¹ M. Antoninus, *vis laurifer*, i. 16, Πάντα κατὰ τὰ πατρία πράττων.

⁵² *Hist. Aug.*, iii. 11, § 5: "Nec ullum sacrificium per vicarium fecit, nisi cum aeger fuit."

⁵³ *Hist. Aug.*, iii. 13, § 4, "qui rite comparatur Numae, cujus felicitatem pietatemque et securitatem caerimoniasque semper obtinuit;" cf. Eutropius, viii. 1, "qui merito Numae Pompilio conferatur;" Aurelius Victor, *Epitome*, 15, "quamvis eum Numae contulerit aetas sua, . . ."

have an inscription,⁶⁴ dedicated—during the years when our first class of *pietas* types is still in force, by the senate and people to the Emperor, “on account of his peculiar devotion and care for the public religious rites.” Consistent with this is the respect for the ancient religion shown in the issue of the beautiful mythological series of coins in connexion with the nine hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the city.⁶⁵ All this is clinched by the explicit statement of Pausanias, who is much nearer to the time of Pius than any of the historians who are the main authorities for his reign. His evidence is all the more valuable because it is an *obiter dictum*, and clearly states a generally recognized fact. “The Romans,” he observes, “called this Emperor Pius, because he was conspicuous for the reverence he paid to the Divine.”⁶⁶

So say the coins.

It remains to consider briefly the remaining coins of this reign bearing *pietas* types. They have not a direct bearing upon the question proposed, but they may serve to illustrate various aspects of the meaning of *pietas*. The prevailing types of Faustina are clearly borrowed with but slight variations from those of her husband, and need not be further considered separately. The

⁶⁴ *G. I. L.*, vi. 1001—

S · P · Q · R ·
IMP · CAESARI · T · AELIO · HADRIANO
ANTONINO · AVG · PIO · P · P ·
PONTIF · MAX · TRIB · POT · VI · COS · III · OPTIMO
MAXIMOQ · PRINCIPI · ET · CVM · SYMMA
BENIGNITATE · IVSTISSIMO · OB · INSIGNEM · ERGA
CAERIMONIAS · PVBLICAS · CVRAM · AC · RELIGIONEM.

⁶⁵ See Eckhel, vii. pp. 29-33.

⁶⁶ Paus., *Περὶ γ.*, viii. 48, § 5: Τοῦτον Εὐσεβὴ τὴν βασιλεία ἐκάλεισαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διότι τῇ ἐν τῷ θεῶν τιμῇ μάλιστα ἐφαίνετο χρόμενος.

second class of Pius' own types, that which appears in 151 and represents Pietas bearing offerings for sacrifice, has equally clearly a religious significance, though exactly why it should be introduced in this year it is not easy to say. The third form, that of Clementia-Pietas, which appears in the same year, has already been discussed under Hadrian. It represents a side of the Emperor's "piety" akin to that which is generally held by the ancient authorities to be the predominant one. Its appearance in this year may have been occasioned by some manifestation of the Emperor's "clemency," perhaps in connection with one of the conspiracies mentioned by the biographers.

Before leaving this year, we may consider the other form of *pietas* type which occurs during its course, that of the fifth class, representing a temple. Eckhel⁵⁷ regarded this temple as standing for that of Hadrian and Sabina. Cohen calls the figures in the *cella* Augustus and Livia. A comparison with the coins of 159 inscribed, *TEMPL. (or AED.) DIVI AVG. REST.* shows that the two temples are practically identical, though this does not count for much in the conventional art of the coins. In either case there is a difficulty in date. The dedication of the temple of Hadrian and Sabina can be dated approximately to 145.⁵⁸ If, therefore, this coin refers to the same temple, we are compelled to assume some further work upon the building in 151. On the other hand, the coins cited above are evidence that a restoration of the temple of Augustus took place in 159, so that if the temple of 151 is the same, we must suppose a previous restoration in that year. There is little to

⁵⁷ Eckhel, vii. p. 22.

⁵⁸ See *Hist. Aug.*, v. 3, § 1.

choose between the two theories, though perhaps that one is preferable which identifies the temple of 151 with that of Augustus. In either case the subtle admixture of the senses of "*pietas erga deos*" and "*pietas erga parentes*" is evident, though it is more striking if the temple be that of Hadrian. In connexion with this temple type we may take that which occurs with the inscription PIETAS AVG. and the obverse of DIVA FAVSTINA AVGVSTA. There can be no doubt that this represents the temple dedicated to the deified Faustina, and where the goddess of the temple is at the same time the wife of the dedicator the fusion of the two senses of *pietas* is apparent. The altar-type of Faustina is probably an abbreviation of the temple.

Finally, we come to the group of types representing Pietas accompanied by children. There is no doubt that Eckhel²⁹ is right in attributing these to the institution of "*puellae Faustinianae*," an alimentary foundation in honour of the deceased Empress. The first appearance of the type, uninscribed, is in 156 (neglecting the probably spurious coin of 138, already mentioned, which Cohen cites from Elberling). But the *pietas* coins of Marcus show already in 149 a type which seems to be most naturally regarded as the earliest form of that of Pietas accompanied by children. We may probably assign an alimentary foundation of this kind to each of the three dates, 149, 156, and 159. The content of the developed type is of peculiar interest. As the institution commemorated was in honour of the Emperor's late consort, the "piety" in question might be taken to be that narrower sort which is the bond

²⁹ Eckhel, vii. p. 26.

between members of a family. But one is tempted to think, and this is suggested by the development of the type through the coin of Marcus, that this "piety" is rather an aspect of the wider virtue, and that while it does not exclude the motive of conjugal affection, it is rather the blossoming of the old stock of the Roman *pietas*, which was in some sort the "whole duty of man," into the fine flower of benevolence or charity towards the weaker members of society. The idea is, of course, quite strange to the old classical spirit, but so too were the alimentary institutions of the Empire strange to the old Roman political and social scheme. Thought was developing to fit the growth of institutions, and it is hardly too extravagant to suppose that new spirit of kindness and humanity which was creeping over Roman society at this period had produced the conception, not perhaps quite consciously formulated, that the best service the pious citizen could render to his country or to the immortal gods was to cherish and succour the needy and to be a father to the fatherless. It is hardly without reason that this picture of Piety taking little children into her arms was the model followed at a later time by Christian artists, when they sought to represent Charity, the flower of Christian virtues.

C. HAROLD DODD.

III

A HOARD OF ROMAN AND BRITISH COINS FROM SOUTHANTS.

(See Plates III.-V.)

THE hoard of coins described in the following pages was found some years ago in Southants. It was contained



in the earthenware pot here figured, which was broken

in the course of the discovery; but a sufficient number of the fragments were preserved to permit of restoration.¹

The thanks of every one who is interested in early British numismatics and archaeology are due to the owner of the hoard, and to Mr. Mill Stephenson, who, recognizing the importance of the discovery, obtained permission for its examination and publication. A typical set of the coins has been acquired by the British Museum.

The hoard, which, so far as is known, has been recovered in its entirety, contains Roman coins, barbarous or semi-barbarous imitations of Roman coins, native British coins, both struck and cast, a few coins which may be either British or Gaulish, and one or two blanks.

A list of the coins follows. Verbal descriptions being obviously inadequate to distinguish the varieties of the cast coins, I have used rough diagrams (reduced to about two-thirds of the original scale). Reference to the plates will show what the coins are really like. The references to Cohen ("C") are to the second edition; for the Republican coins I have used Mr. Grueber's Catalogue ("G"), as well as M. Babelon's work ("B").

¹ Mr. H. B. Walters informs me that this type is common on the Continent from the first century onwards. From Mr. Reginald Smith I learn that vessels of this character, with lattice pattern, were in use in this country as late as the time of Constantine, as is proved by a recent find in Wilts. The same pattern is found on pans which were no doubt used for cooking.

DESCRIPTION OF COINS.

No.	Description.	Reference.	No. of specimens.	Weight		See Plate
				In grs. troy.	In grms.	

REPUBLICAN DENARIII.

1	Uncertain, probably <i>obv.</i> Head of Roma; rev. Luna in biga (172-151 B.C.)		1	—	—	—
2	M. Acilius Balbus; plated, without wreath on <i>obv.</i> , and reading BABVROM (124-103 B.C.)	B. I. 102, 1 G. I. 150, 1019	1	—	—	III. 2.
3	Q. Minucius Thermus; plated (90 B.C.)	B. II. 285, 19 G. II. 302, 653	1	—	—	—
4	Q. Lutatius Cerco (90 B.C.)	B. II. 157, 2 G. II. 297, 636	1	—	—	—
5	Q. Titius (87 B.C.)	B. II. 491, 2 G. I. 227, 2225	1	—	—	—
6	L. Rubrius Dossenus (86 B.C.)	B. II. 406, 1 G. I. 311, 2448	1	—	—	—
7	Q. Antonius Balbus (?); plated, and not serrated (82 B.C.)	B. I. 158, 1 G. I. 344, 2730	1	—	—	—
8	Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio (47-46 B.C.)	B. I. 278, 47 G. II. 570, 1	1	—	—	—
9	T. Carisius (45 B.C.)	B. I. 314, 1 G. I. 527, 4056	1	—	—	—
10	M. Antonius (38-37 B.C.)	B. I. 189, 79 G. II. 508, 141	1	—	—	—
11	M. Antonius (32-31 B.C.)	B. I. 301, 108 G. II. 528, 195	1	—	—	—
12	Octavian; plated (36 B.C.)	B. II. 59, 140 G. II. 415, 116	1	—	—	—
13	Octavian; plated (39-27 B.C.)	B. II. 67, 164 G. II. 17, 4868	1	—	—	—

LOCAL IMITATION.

14	O. Julius Caesar (50-49 B.C.) (Concavo-convex fabric, similar to imitation of Vitellius, No. 17)	B. II. 10, 9 G. II. 390, 27	1	58.3	3.78	III. 1.
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IMPERIAL DENARIII.

15	Tiberius	C. I. 191, 16	1	—	—	—
16	Vitellius	C. I. 361, 72	1	—	—	—

LOCAL IMITATION.

17	Vitellius (same fabric as No. 14)	C. I. 361, 72	1	55.0	3.56	III. 3.
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




















No.	Description.	Reference.	No. of specimens.	Weight		See Plate
				in grs. troy.	in grms.	
IMPERIAL ASSES. ²						
	Brought forward		17			
18	Agrippa (struck by Caligula)	C. I. 175, 3	1	—	—	—
19	Germanicus (struck by Caligula)	C. I. 224, 1	1	—	—	—
20	Claudius (without P P)	C. I. 254, 47	1	—	—	—
21	" " "	C. I. 257, 84	1	—	—	—
22	Vespasian " "	C. I. 386, 247 ?	1	—	—	—
23	" (without globe ?)	C. I. 398, 400	1	—	—	—
24	"	C. I. 407, 506	2	—	—	—
25	Vespasian or Titus; rev. worn smooth	—	1	—	—	—
26	Domitian	C. I. 481, 111	1	—	—	—
27	"	C. I. 481, 125	1	—	—	—
28	"	C. I. 499, 327	2	—	—	—
29	"	C. I. 508, 453	4	—	—	—
30	"	C. I. 523, 647	1	—	—	—
31	" (type Fortuna ?)	—	2	—	—	—
32	Nerva	C. II. 7, 61	1	—	—	—
33	Trajan	C. II. 55, 355	1	—	—	—
34	"	C. II. 66, 478	1	—	—	—
35	"	C. II. 72, 532	1	—	—	—
36	"	C. II. 83, 627	1	—	—	—
37	Hadrian Cos. III	C. II. 137, 369	4	—	—	—
38	Uncertain (perhaps Trajan)	—	1	—	—	—
LOCAL IMITATIONS.						
39	Of Claudius	C. I. 251, 14	2	{ 112·2 80·3 135·8	{ 7·27 5·20 8·80	—
40	"	C. I. 257, 84	11	{ to 74·8	{ to 4·85	III. 4.
41	Uncertain	—	1	—	—	—
BRITISH COINS.						
STRUCK.						
42	Type of Evans F. 1-3 (more or less silver) and G. 5-6 (copper) Superior class	Evans F. 1-3	83	62·0 (av.)	4·02 (av.)	III. 5, 6.
	Inferior class	Evans G. 5-6	206	52·3 (av.)	3·39 (av.)	III. 7, 8.
43	Type of Evans M. 13-14 ⁴	Evans M. 13-14	9	{ 16·8 to 11·8	{ 1·09 to 0·77	III. 9, 10.
	Carried forward		359			

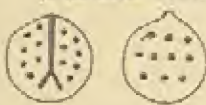
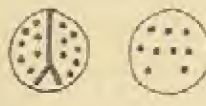
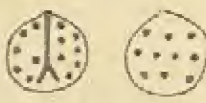
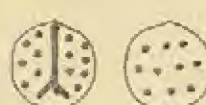
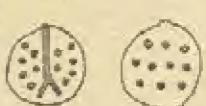
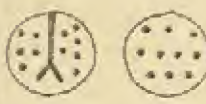
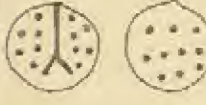
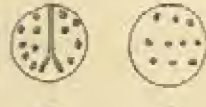
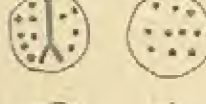
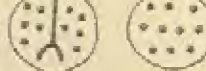
* These "middle brass" appear to be all *asses*; Nos. 25, 31, and 38 were, however, returned to their owner before I had noted the denomination.

³ The average weight is 101·6 grs. (6·58 grms.).

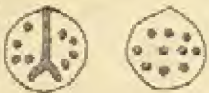
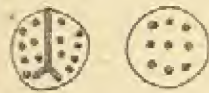
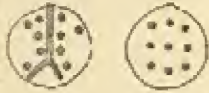
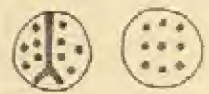
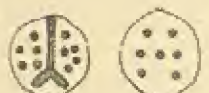
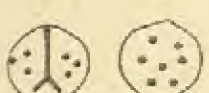
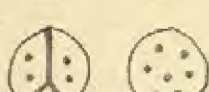
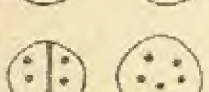

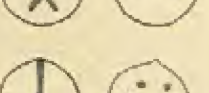
⁴ The average weight is 14·03 grs. (0·91 grm.).

No.	Description.	No. of specimens.	Average wt.		See Plate
			in gr. troy.	in grms.	
BRITISH COINS—continued.					
CAST.					
44	 Brt. f'rw'd.	359 2	35.5	2.30	III. 11.
45		12	30.4	2.55	III. 12.
46		1	30.9	2.00	III. 13.
47		1	33.8	2.19	III. 14.
48		1	33.5	2.17	III. 15.
49		2	32.5	2.11	III. 16.
50		3	28.1	1.82	III. 17.
51		5	31.8	2.06	III. 18, 19.
52	 (a) Hammered after casting. (b) Cast as usual.	3 18	33.0 40.0	2.14 2.59	IV. 1. IV. 2.
53	 Carr. f'rw'd.	2 409	32.8	2.13	IV. 3.

No.	Description.		No. of specimens.	Average wt.		See Plate
				in grs. troy.	in grms.	
BRITISH COINS—continued.			CAST—continued.			
54		 Brt. f'rw'rd.	409 4	30·7	1·99	IV. 4.
55			2	31·5	2·04	IV. 5.
56			1	26·5	1·72	IV. 6.
57		 	16	39·9	2·59	IV. 7, 8.
58			1	25·3	1·64	IV. 9.
59			1	36·9	2·39	IV. 10.
60			3	35·1	2·27	IV. 11.
61			6	49·1	3·18	IV. 12.
62			2	29·7	1·92	IV. 13.
63		 Carr. f'rw'rd.	1 446	35·4	2·29	IV. 14.

No.	Description.	Number of specimens.	Average weight		See Plate
			in grs. troy.	in grammes.	
BRITISH COINS—continued.			CAST—continued.		
64		Brit. fd. 446 76	41.1	2.66	IV. 15.
65		1	41.8	2.71	IV. 16.
66		1	41.1	2.66	IV. 17.
67		23	34.1	2.21	IV. 18.
68		(thick fabric) 4	53.2	3.45	IV. 19.
69		4	34.1	2.21	IV. 20.
70		3	33.7	2.51	V. 1.
71		22	34.7	2.25	V. 2.
72		1	31.1	2.01	V. 3.
73		9	35.4	2.29	V. 4.
		Od. fd. 590			

No.	Description.	Number of specimens.	Average weight		See Plate
			in grs. troy.	in grammes.	

BRITISH COINS—continued.			CÆT—continued.		
74		Brt. fd. 590 13	36.4	2.36	V. 5.
75		17	33.2	2.15	V. 6.
76		6	39.9	2.59	V. 7.
77		2	36.1	2.34	V. 8.
78		20	34.5	2.23	V. 9.
79		2	30.9	2.00	V. 10.
80		6	35.0	2.27	V. 11.
81		5	33.7	2.18	V. 12.
82		3	33.9	2.20	V. 13.
83		1 Cd. fd. 665	30.0	1.94	V. 14.

No.	Description.	Reference.	No. of specimens.	Weight		See Plate
				in grs. troy.	in grms.	
GAUL, CHANNEL ISLANDS, OR BRITAIN.						
Brought forward . . .			665			
84	Base silver. Jersey type	<i>Rev. Num.</i> , 1884, Pl. V. 7	1	18.4	1.19	V. 15.
85	Bronze. Jersey type	Muret-Cha- bouillet, 10,400	1	49.8	3.23	V. 17.
MISCELLANEOUS.						
86	Base silver dump (unstruck blank)	—	1	83.8	5.43	V. 16.
87	Circular piece of brass, diam. 21.5 mm., flat on one side, convex on the other (unstruck blank)	—	1	111.0	7.19	—
88	Fragmentary or quite uncertain bronze	—	8	—	—	—
Total . . .			677			

The Roman coins range from the second century before to the second century after Christ; as the latest pieces (of Hadrian's third consulship, 119 A.D., struck at some time between 119 and 138 A.D.) are in very fair preservation, we may take it that the hoard was buried about the middle of the century.

The occurrence of a number of local barbarous imitations is the most interesting feature of the Roman portion of the hoard. It seems possible that some of the plated denarii, which one is accustomed to regard as issued from Roman mints for the benefit of the barbarians, were actually made by the barbarians themselves. Thus the coin of M. Acilius Balbus [Pl. III. 2], had it been made by purely Roman hands, would not have had a blundered inscription, or lacked the wreath on the obverse; nor (if I have identified the coin correctly) would

the serrated edge have been missing from the piece of M. Antonius Balbus. The most remarkable of the denarii, however, are not plated; they are Nos. 14 (Julius Caesar) and 17 (Vitellius). These [Pl. III. 1, 3] have a peculiar, un-Roman, and very Celtic fabric, with convex obverse and concave reverse. There is not the least doubt that they were made in the same workshop and about the same time, that is in or after 68 A.D. Whether they were made in Gaul or Britain, it is difficult to say with certainty; but it may be doubted whether the Britons at this time could have produced anything so good.

The imitations of the Roman copper coins, on the other hand, are nothing new. The few specimens which I have noted hitherto as being found in this country, come from the South or East. One I remember being sent me from Southampton; one found at Santon Downham, with coins of the Iceni, is in the British Museum; two were in Mr. Walters' Croydon hoard;⁵ and now we have a number from Dorsetshire. The occurrence of such imitations on the German *limes* has been noted by Dr. E. Ritterling.⁶ He points out that the large number which circulated indicates that they were not private forgeries, but current coin issued by the Gallic communities, and recognized officially. Some of them bear the same official countermark TIA that

⁵ *Num. Chron.*, 1907, p. 366: Claudius, as our No. 40, and Nero, rev. "S. C. Victory to l. with globe;" presumably = Cohen², No. 288, or one of the following numbers.

⁶ See "Das frühromische Lager bei Hofheim i. T." in *Annalen des Vereins für Nassauische Altertumskunde und Geschichtsforschung*, xxxiv. (1904), pp. 36 ff. I owe this reference to Mr. George Macdonald, who informs me that these local imitations do not occur in the North of Britain. For imitations found in France, see the references in Blanchet, *Traité des Monnaies Gauloises*, p. 431.

appears on the regular imperial coins with the head of Agrippa.⁷ He maintains, with some show of reason, that the small Gaulish copper coins having been called in during the reign of Tiberius the right of the communities to strike money was not wholly withdrawn, but they were permitted to strike coins resembling the Roman copper. The types which they selected were naturally those which circulated most commonly in the province, viz. the Lyon type, with ROM ET AVG; the divus Augustus type, with PROVIDENT; the Agrippa, with Neptune; the Claudius, with Pallas. In Britain, as we have seen, we find also another type of Claudius, and a Nero, which seem to be imitated.

Were these imitations also made in Britain? Probably not, seeing that they are not found in great quantities, and such as do occur seem to come from the part of the island which is in touch with Gaul. Further, it does not appear that the native coinage was called in. The hoard before us is evidence to the contrary; and similar evidence is afforded by the Honley hoard, buried about 72 or 73 A.D.⁸ If the native currency was not withdrawn, there would be no object in allowing the reproduction by native hands of the Roman copper. We may take it, therefore, that the imitations of early Roman copper found in this country are, as a general rule, importations.

⁷ Which coins, as Bitterling has shown (*ibid.*, pp. 84 f.), were not struck before the reign of Tiberius; they are contemporary with the posthumous coins of Augustus. L. Lafranchi (*Riv. Ital. di Num.*, 1910, pp. 21-31) gives reasons for placing all these in the reign of Caligula.

⁸ *Num. Chron.*, 1897, pp. 293 ff. This contained none of these imitations, if I remember rightly. In describing it, I omitted to mention the pertinent fact that the Brigantian coins contained in it were of silver.

Ritterling gives the average weight of some 50 specimens of this class as about 4 grammes. The average yielded by the coins in our hoard is, it will be noticed, considerably higher. Possibly only the heavier specimens found their way across the Channel.

The composition of the hoard shows that a great number of the ordinary base silver and bronze coins which are known to have been produced in South-West Britain, especially in Dorsetshire, were still in circulation along with Roman coins [Pl. III. 5-8]. There are 289 entire specimens of the classes which are illustrated by Sir John Evans in his Pl. F, 1-3 (silver), and G, 5-6 (copper). The metal varies so much in quality that it is almost impossible to draw the line between the two classes; nevertheless, they may be divided roughly into a superior and an inferior class. Of the former, which are, generally speaking, of better metal, better workmanship, greater thickness and concavo-convexity of fabric, as well as slightly higher weight (average, 62.0 grains = 4.02 grammes), there are 83 specimens; of the latter (average weight, 52.3 grains = 3.39 grammes), there are 206 specimens.

The find also contains nine base silver coins [Pl. III. 9, 10], all slight varieties of the types illustrated by Sir John Evans in Pl. M, 13, 14 (weights, 16.8 to 11.8 grains; average 14.03 grains = 0.91 gramme). Evans has noted that a billon coin from the Jersey find (therefore possibly struck in Gaul or the Channel Islands), with a star of five curved rays on the obverse (*Rev. Num.*, 1884, Pl. v. 7), has a reverse very closely allied to that of these coins; and curiously enough a specimen [Pl. V. 15] was contained in the hoard. It is just possible that this reverse type may have been

derived from the seated figure of Zeus on the coins of Alexander the Great, of which a certain number of barbarous Celtic imitations exist; but I am not able to trace the intermediate links.

Another Jersey type is the bronze coin illustrated in **Pl. V. 17** (cp. Muret-Chabouillet, No. 10,400). A base silver dump, of 83·8 grains = 5·43 grammes, looks as if it were an unstruck blank [**Pl. V. 16**]. The average weight of a large number of coins (70 or 80) of the type Evans F, 2, found at Ockford, Fitzpaine Hill, near Blandford, is said to have been 83 grains = 5·38 grammes (Evans, p. 101).

I have left to the last the consideration of that constituent of the hoard which will be of the greatest interest to British numismatists. We have long known certain cast coins of tin (Evans, **Pl. H**), the British origin of which has not been fully established. We have now a whole series of cast coins, the British claim to which cannot reasonably be disputed [**Pl. III. 11-V. 14**].

The local moneyer, having lost the art of engraving dies, evidently took to supplementing the currency by coins cast in flat moulds. Of these cast coins we find an extraordinarily interesting sequence, with types starting at a stage removed not quite beyond recognition from the already known struck coins, and concluding in something more degraded than has hitherto been forthcoming in the history of British coins.

In addition to the pieces which are obviously cast, and of the same types as one group of them, the hoard contains three pieces [**Pl. IV. 1**] of a very flat fabric, which I at first regarded as struck. On a second examination, the various elements of the design appear to me as if they

had been hammered flat, having originally had higher relief; and it may be suggested that the pieces were cast in the ordinary way, and then hammered, in the hope of giving them a greater resemblance in fabric to the ordinary struck coins.

The chief element in the design, if such it can be called, of the obverse of these coins, is a γ -shaped object, which is derived from a combination of two elements on the original degraded head, viz. one of the crescent-shaped curls and the sort of fillet which confined the hair, starting from the temple and going over the back of the head; this fillet becomes the stem, and the crescent the fork of the γ . The metal is always run in at the base of the γ , and the caster evidently thought of the design as standing either like an upright γ , or (more probably) on its head, not slanting downwards to the right in accordance with the position of the fillet and curl on the original head. I have therefore arranged the diagrams and casts for illustration with the γ standing on its head. By turning the coin over from left to right, one sees how the reverse design was meant to be looked at. On those coins (groups 44-47, *Pl. III.* 11-14), which still preserve two of the dumbbell-like elements which represent the legs of the horse on the reverse, these elements, when the coin is turned over in the way described, appear upright in the left-hand lower portion of the design. But whether they represent the two fore legs or the two hind legs of the animal, I do not pretend to decide.

It is probable that the coins were cast in clay moulds, which were made, as a rule, simply by impressing an already existing coin into the soft clay. In this way we may account for the gradual simplification of the type;

a coin on which one of the pellets or curves had not come out, owing to faulty casting, would produce a mould from which would come new coins in which that pellet or curve was lacking. Naturally, a certain number of the links are missing, but the series in **Pl. IV. 1-5** and **Pl. V. 10-14** show very clearly how the degradation might proceed. It is, of course, difficult sometimes to draw the line between accidental variations and real kinds; thus 65 might be regarded as an accidental variation of 64, while the two variations grouped under 57 might well have been separated into two kinds. The latter remark also applies to 51. But having once mounted the diagrams for reproduction, I have ventured to let them stand as they are, since another find of coins of this class would doubtless necessitate a complete rearrangement. Needless to say, I cannot pretend to have arranged all the varieties in order of origin; the material afforded by the hoard is insufficient for the purpose, though it does suffice to illustrate one of the most remarkable cases of morphological degradation that is to be found in the history of coinage.

One question, finally, must not be disregarded: Are these coins specimens of a regular currency, or are they the produce of a single person's experiments, authorized or not, extending over a comparatively short period—produce, in fact, which never came into general circulation? The lack of wear, in which these pieces contrast curiously with the struck coins (some of the pellets standing up as much as 1·3 mm. from the surface), induces me to incline to the second alternative.

G. F. HILL.

IV.

CHARLES II's HAMMERED SILVER COINAGE.

(See Plate VI.)

A MARKED feature of King Charles II's hammered money is the varied abbreviation of its obverse legend. Hawkins gives such very meagre details on that point, and I have come across so many unchronicled varieties, that I have thought it worth while to set out all the legends at full length, and to marshal the coins of each issue in order, placing those with the fuller form of legend first, and those with the less extended form next in a declining scale.

This synoptical arrangement, though not a scientific one, facilitates the discovery of new varieties, and enables the collector to find an appropriate place for them in his catalogue.

Most of the coins described in the following list are in my own cabinet. Other rare examples are contained in the limited but valuable collection in the British Museum. I have added to the description of many coins a numeral, indicating the order in which they are mentioned by Hawkins, and when I describe a specimen as "unpublished," I mean that it has not been particularly noticed by that writer. In several instances I have failed to discover varieties which he mentions, and have therefore given his references to the works of

Snelling or Ruding, in the hope that those varieties may still be found hidden in some private collections.

The index number prefixed to the description of a given coin may, for the purpose of citation or cross-reference, be used to denote the particular form of the legend which it bears.

The type of the Hammered Coinage is uniform throughout for all the denominations. On the *obverse* the bust of the King is turned to the left in profile; he is crowned, his long hair flowing over the shoulders, and he wears armour and a deep falling lace collar. On the *reverse* is the royal shield of arms—1 and 4 England, 2 Scotland, and 3 Ireland—placed upon a cross fleury. Any varieties will be noticed when they occur; but these variations will be very slight. The legend on the obverse giving the King's name and titles varies slightly; but that on the reverse is uniformly CHRISTO AVSPICE REGNO.

The First issue has a perfectly plain field, without numerals of value or "inner circle," and bears the mint-mark, a royal crown, upon the obverse only. The half-crown, shilling, and sixpence (Nos. 1, 2, and 3) are beautifully engraved; a proof of the care exercised in their production being the manner in which the delicate harp-strings, seven in number, are thrown into relief. The stops of the legends are always level.

The half-groats have also been engraved with care, but, from the nature of things, they are not quite so well reproduced from the dies. On the latest example (No. 6) colons are inserted for the first time in the obverse legend.

The pennies have had less care bestowed upon them. All the smaller coins seem to bear a harp with five strings.

The silver half-pennies of this reign are indistinguishable because they were probably "rose half-pence," without any legend, struck from the old dies of Charles I.

The Second issue is distinguished by the very necessary addition of a numeral indicating the value of each coin; an unaccountable omission in the First issue. They differ little in other respects from the original issue, but the obverse legends, with the exception of that on the first half-crown, are somewhat more abbreviated. The insertion of colons in the lettering now becomes the rule instead of the exception.

The half-crown, shilling, and sixpence are mint-marked like the former ones on the obverse only, but the normal half-groat and penny (Nos. 19 and 21) bear the mint-mark on both obverse and reverse, and are in other respects remarkable coins because they differ from the First issue and the remainder of the Second, not only in the extreme abbreviation of their obverse legend, M:B:F:ET:H:REX., but also in their symmetrical shape. In these two details they resemble the Fourth issue [cf. Pl. VI. 6 and 7 with 12 *et seq.*].

They are not, in fact, hammered coins at all, but milled, that is to say, produced by some mechanical means, though the unique *hammered* half-groat (No. 18) supplies the missing link between the First and Second issues [Pl. VI. 5].

I will here state, in anticipation of a conclusion which I eventually draw, that there is in my collection a curious milled penny (No. 22) with numerals but no inner circle, which bridges the gulf between the Second and Fourth issues [Pl. VI. 8], for it not only has the most abbreviated legend of all, viz. M.B.F.&H.REX., but it bears a bust of the normal type, which nevertheless (as

in the Fourth issue), *descends to the edge of the coin*, and the obverse legend commences in consequence at the bottom of the left-hand side, while the mint-mark appears on the *reverse* only (cf. half-groat, No. 20, which is of exactly similar type).

All the half-crowns and shillings of the Second issue bear a harp with seven strings, except the shilling, No. 15, which has eight. On the sixpences the harp has six strings, and on the half-groat and penny, so far as I can ascertain, four and five strings respectively.

The special feature of the Third issue, which followed very closely upon the heels of the Second, is the super-addition of an inner circle of dots to both sides of the coins [Pl. VI. 9-11].

This was certainly not an improvement from an artistic point of view, for the original design is thereby spoilt. The mint-mark now appears on both the obverse and reverse of the whole series.

The coins of the Third issue are not so well executed as those of the two earlier ones. It is evident that the effect of Simon's beautiful engraving was lost in the hammering process,¹ unless much time and attention were given to each coin, and consequently a rougher style of engraving may have been deemed sufficient for the purpose.

The half-crowns and shillings of this issue display great variety in the abbreviation of their obverse legends, and that fact seems to point to a large output of money from the Mint. When, as is not unfrequently the case, the obverse or reverse legend, or both, commence and

¹ Samuel Pepys makes this observation in regard to the First issue.

end with a stop, the appearance of a pellet on either side of the mint-mark is produced.

A groat and threepenny piece (Nos. 32 and 33) are included in the Third issue. They bear a bust, hereinafter referred to as the second bust, and different from that impressed on all the other hammered money, because the long hair is represented as falling to the front and back and leaving the shoulder bare. This point is not without significance as I will explain later on [Pl. VI. 10, 11].

I have reason to believe that the groat and threepenny piece were the first of the series to be engraved at the date of the commission which added those values to the currency, because the remainder of the Third issue reverts to the type of the earlier hammered money.

One of the half-groats (No. 35) has an abnormal reverse legend, for it is punctuated with long oval periods, the penultimate one being vertical instead of horizontal. Compare the periods in the reverse legend of penny, No. 18.

The pennies are usually executed in a very rough fashion.

The harp on the half-crowns and shillings has seven strings, but a specimen of the shilling, No. 30, in the British Museum has six only. On the smaller values it seems to have usually five strings, but on the threepence it has four. This detail is not so clearly expressed as in the case of the earlier issues.

The Fourth issue (with numerals but no inner circle) consists of penny, twopenny, threepenny, and fourpenny pieces, and is in consequence sometimes known as "Simon's Maundy money" [Pl. VI. 12-15]. It exhibits a successful attempt to render these smaller coins

uniform in appearance. They are beautifully engraved and struck. The crown on the King's head is represented with four arches, a detail never before inserted on the small money.

The reason for omitting the usual mint-mark from the obverse is that the bust (the second bust, it will be observed) descends to the very edge of the coins, encroaches upon part of the space formerly occupied by the legend, and thus renders extreme brevity (including the substitution of an ampersand for the word ΕΤ) necessary.

I will here make a short digression, in order to notice a paper which appeared many years ago in the pages of the *Numismatic Chronicle*,² wherein it is sought to classify the coins belonging to this mixed series of hammered and milled money in a manner very different from that adopted by Hawkins and the earlier writers. The paper contains much valuable information, but the conclusions arrived at therein are not altogether convincing. Its writer attributes great importance to the shape of the royal crown, and to the number of arches which compose it, and suggests that that may form a guide to the classification of the money.

All the half-crowns, shillings, and sixpences (except the sixpence of the First issue) represent the crown as having four arches. So do all the coins of the Fourth issue.

The above-excepted sixpence, and all the remaining coins of the entire series, represent it as having two arches only, so no information can possibly be derived from that particular.

There is only one other point in the same paper which calls for immediate comment, and that is the

² Vol. XIX., N.S., p. 92.

inclusion in a separate class of certain coins of the First issue, viz. a sixpence and two pennies, which Ruding says were struck without the usual mint-mark on the obverse.

I have myself seen one instance only of a coin which is deficient in that particular detail, viz. the penny marked No. 9 in the subjoined list, but it is from an abnormal die, and one which was evidently not intended to be used at all [Pl. VI. 2].

Ruding's plate (Supplement VI.) is reproduced from that of Folkes published in 1763. To rely upon a plate executed without the aid of photography is to lean upon a bruised reed, but I take Fig. 12, and perhaps also Fig. 11,³ to represent imperfect specimens. The sixpence illustrated in Fig. 10 of the same plate may not have been so unequivocal as it there appears to be.

However, I see no reason for regarding those coins which have no mint-mark as forming a specific type of the hammered coinage. The above-cited paper (which deals more particularly with the smaller values) distinguishes no less than nine different types of money. It is more convenient for the present purpose to adhere to Hawkins' simple classification of the coinage, and I will now endeavour to fix the dates when the several issues comprised in it were struck.

The King made his state entry into London on his birthday, May 29, 1660, but great delay attended the issue of a new coinage.

It was not until the 27th June that the first general order was made directing the preparation of puncheons

³ Compare with those figures the description of penny (No. 9), penny (No. 10), and sixpence (No. 3) respectively contained in the subjoined list.

and dies for the gold and silver currency, and in the same month a warrant was issued ordering the Wardens of the Mint to furnish "irons" for coining money, and to cause their chief graver Thomas Rawlins, to grave the King's *effigies* thereon.⁴

But Rawlins, though well qualified for the task, does not appear to have taken any active part in it. The preparation of designs for new seals may have taken precedence at the moment.

On the 20th July Sir Ralph Freeman, the Master and Worker of the Mint, executed an Indenture which provided for a coinage similar in all respects to that of the late King, and, on the 10th of August, the two Wardens and the Master and Worker were again ordered to furnish irons, and to cause Thomas "Symons" to grave them.⁵

Simon, as became a careful workman, was deliberate in setting to work, so, on the 18th August, the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury ordered him to give up all other work until the Mint was ready to commence operations, and "to use all speed therein suitable to the absoluteness of the order." Simon still obstinately refused to be driven. Another month elapsed and the King's patience seems to have been exhausted, for, on the 21st September, 1660, he sent an order under his own hand to Thomas "Simons," one of the chief gravers, "to lay aside all occasions, and forthwith to prepare the original or master puncheons and charges, and also some dies or stamps for the gold and silver coins, according to the said order of the 27th June without fail."⁶

I gather, however, from an entry in Samuel Pepys's

⁴ State Papers, Dom. Ser., Chas. II, vol. v. p. 85.

⁵ Vertue, *Works of Simon*, p. 83.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

diary, that the First issue (without numerals or inner circle) did not actually make its appearance until the beginning of the year 1661 (new style). Meanwhile the public had to make shift with the "cross and harp" coinage of the Commonwealth (called in on the 30th November, 1661), and with a motley collection of Spanish, Portuguese, and French coins, which did duty as current money.⁷

The entry in Pepys to which I refer is as follows :—

"Feb. 19, 1660-1. We met with Mr. Slingsby, that was formerly a great friend of Mons. Blondeau, who showed me the stamps of the King's new coin which is strange to see how good they are in the stamp and bad in the money for lack of skill to make them. But, he says, Blondeau will shortly come over, and then we shall have it better, and the best in the world."

The First issue continued to be struck until the 28th November, 1661, when the several pieces coined by virtue of the said Indenture were ordered to have their values stamped upon them. That clearly marks the date of the Second issue (with numerals but no inner circle), including the above-mentioned half-groats and pennies, which were evidently produced by some mechanical apparatus [PL. VI. 6, 7].

Where did Simon find such apparatus? Not at the Mint. He alone was acquainted with the art of coining money by the mill, for he had only a few years previously, in association with Blondeau, produced such for Cromwell, but much to the chagrin of the Mint authorities had always kept his *modus operandi* a dead

⁷ See Proclamations of 29th January, 1661, and 7th September, 1661.

secret, and had employed the entire process *outside the precincts of the Mint*.

The Government about this period were slowly making up their minds to issue a milled coinage, and even to bring Blondeau back to England, so it is not impossible that Simon, who like many another genius was somewhat eccentric, and a difficult person to deal with, had resolved to anticipate the moneyers in producing a few pieces of milled money by way of experiment, as the sequel will show.

A commission dated soon after the said order of the 28th November, 1661, directed groats and quarter shillings (that is to say, fourpenny and threepenny pieces) to be added to the Royal coinage.⁸

The last-mentioned coins form a leading feature of the Third issue of hammered money with numerals and inner circles, so it is thus possible to fix approximately the date of its first appearance.

Meanwhile the new era in the annals of our coinage had begun to dawn, for on the 17th January, 1662 (new style), the Privy Council ordered £1400 to be paid to the Wardens of the Mint towards the erection of houses, mills, and *engines*, for coining money by the mill, and, exactly a week later, they issued another extraordinary and often-quoted order, by which all gravers were forbidden to grave or make any irons for coining *in any place but in his Majesty's Mint* in the Tower of London. By the same order Thomas Simon, graver, was required speedily to bring in and deliver to the officers of his Majesty's Mint all such tools and *engines* for coining as he had in his possession.⁹

⁸ Folkes, p. 103.

⁹ Vertue, *op. cit.* Appendix, p. 85.

Now this order was evidently aimed at Simon and nobody else. It did not deprive him, as it has been suggested, of his office, for he had not yet had time to complete the engraving of the dies for the Third issue of the hammered money. It merely sought to impound certain "engines" which he had in his possession, because, in view of the contemplated new *regime*, it was contrary to public policy that any such should exist elsewhere than in the Mint itself.

The "engines" referred to in the order were, I venture to suggest, a small screw press with which Simon produced, at his residence in the Tower of London or elsewhere, the milled half-groat and penny of the Second issue and, as I submit, the original specimens of the milled Fourth issue.

The latter, as I have already stated, resembles the half-groat and penny of the Second issue in the extreme abbreviation of its obverse legend, and in the fact of its being milled, and it resembles the groat and three-penny piece of the Third issue in bearing the second bust.

So I conclude that it was struck between the date of the said commission which added groats and three-penny pieces to the public currency, and the date of the said order of the 24th January, 1662 (new style), which deprived Simon of his formidable engines.

Simon doubtless intended the Fourth issue for general currency, but, if I am right in assigning its production to the month of December 1661, it is unlikely that it was then put into circulation, first because the authorities were contemplating the early issue of an uniform type of milled money, and secondly, because hammered pieces of the same values were, at that very period, being struck

and issued by them as part and parcel of the Third issue.

Nevertheless some of the coins of the Fourth issue exhibit signs of wear, and there are examples of the threepenny piece which bear a harp with four, five, and six strings respectively, thus indicating the use of several dies for that particular coin. Hawkins suggests that the Fourth issue was utilised as Maundy money, and it undoubtedly served as a model when, in 1670, a special class of coins was devoted to that purpose. But though its date and object are uncertain, it is properly described by Hawkins as the Fourth issue.

And so the Third hammered issue in its entirety, all made from Simon's dies, or at any rate from his designs, held the field, and continued to be struck for such period as the needs of the public demanded, and until the Mint was ready to furnish an adequate supply of the new-fashioned milled money. There can be no doubt that if Simon had been allowed a free hand he would, at the very commencement of the reign, have produced a milled currency superior to any in the whole English series, but his aspirations were thwarted by the persistent jealousy of the moneyers, and his admirable workmanship was marred by his being compelled to follow the old-fashioned models of the previous reign, and to employ that relic of barbarism the hammer.

LIST OF COINS.

FIRST ISSUE.

Without numerals or inner circle.

1. Half-crown. Mint-mark *obv.* only.

Obv.—CAROLVS . II . D . G . MAG . BRIT . FRAN .
ET . HIB . REX

Rev.—CHRISTO AVSPICE REGNO Harp, 7 strings.
Hawkins l. [PL. VI. 1.]

2. Shilling. Mint-mark *obv.* only.

Obv.—CAROLVS . II . D . G . MAG . BRIT . FR . ET .
HIB . REX

Rev.—CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO . Harp, 7
strings.
Hawkins l.

Two specimens in the British Museum have
no stop after REGNO.

3. Sixpence. Mint-mark *obv.* only.

Obv.—CAROLVS . II . D . G . MAG . BRIT . FRAN .
ET . HIB . REX

Rev.—CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO . Harp, 7
strings. Two arches only on the King's
crown.

Hawkins l. Ruding gives an illustration
of this sixpence without the usual mint-mark.
Supplement, Pl. vi. 10.

4. Half-groat. Mint-mark *obv.* only.

Obv.—CAROLVS . II . D . G . MAG . BRIT . FR . ET .
HIB . REX

Rev.—CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO . Harp, 5 strings.

Hawkins 1.

I have in my own collection another specimen of the above coin in which all the stops of the obverse legend have been omitted, but there is an exceedingly minute pellet on either side of the mint-mark. The harp also has 5 strings.

5. Half-groat. Mint-mark *obv.* only.

Obv.—CAROLVS II D G MAG BRIT FR ET H REX

Rev.—CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO Harp, 5 strings.

Hawkins 2. Cf. Snelling, Pl. xvi. 13. No stops in obverse legend.

In the above described specimen from my own collection the lower strokes of the E's are omitted.

6. Half-groat. Mint-mark *obv.* only.

Obv.—CAROLVS . II . D : G : MAG : B : FR : ET .
H : REX

Rev.—CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO . Harp, 5 strings.
My Collection.

Unpublished. Colons are here inserted for the first time.

7. Penny. Mint-mark *obv.* only.

Obv.—CAROLVS . II . D . G . MAG . BRIT . FR . ET .
HIB . REX

Rev.—CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO . Harp, 1 strings.

Hawkins 1. Cf. Ruding, xxxiii. 5.
My Collection.

8. Penny. Mint-mark *obv.* only.

Obv.—CAROLVS II D G MAG BRIT FR ET H REX

Rev.—CHRISTO AVSPICE REGNO Harp, 1 strings.

Hawkins 2; on the authority of Snelling, Pl. xvi. 12.

9. Penny. No mint-mark.

Obv.—CPOLVS · II · D · G · M · BP · F · FT · HI ·
PFX ·

The tails of the R's and the lower strokes of the E's are omitted, which show that the engraving of the obverse legend was unfinished.

Rev.—CHRISTO · AVSPICE · REGNO · There is a pellet over the King's bust in place of the usual mint-mark. Harp, ? strings.

Hawkins 4. [Pl. VI. 2.]

The above-described coin is in the British Museum. I have an inferior specimen in my collection with 5 strings to the harp.

10. Penny. No mint-mark.

Obv.—CAROLVS II D G M BR F ET H REX

Rev.—CHRISTO AVSPICE REGNO Harp, ? strings.

Hawkins 3 ; on the authority of Ruding, *Supplement*, vi. 11.

SECOND ISSUE.

With numerals but no inner circle.

11. Half-crown. Mint-mark *obv.* only.

Obv.—CAROLVS · II · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FRAN ·
ET · HIB · REX

Rev.—CHRISTO · AVSPICE · REGNO · Harp, 7
strings.

Hawkins 1. My Collection. [Pl. VI. 3.]

12. Half-crown. Mint-mark *obv.* only.

Obv.—CAROLVS · II · D · G · MAG · BRI · FRA ·
ET · HIB · REX ·

Rev.—CHRISTO · AVSPICE · REGNO · Harp, 7
strings.

Hawkins 2.

British Museum.

13. Shilling. Mint-mark *obv.* only.

Obv.—CAROLVS . II . D : G : MAG : BRI : FR : ET .
HIB : REX

Rev.—CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO . Harp, ?
strings.

Hawkins 3. British Museum.

14. Shilling. Mint-mark *obv.* only.

Obv.—CAROLVS . II . D : G : MAG : BR . FR . ET .
HIB : REX

Rev.—CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO . Harp, 7
strings.

Hawkins 2. My Collection.

15. Shilling. Mint-mark *obv.* only.

Obv.—CAROLVS . II . D : G : MAG : BR : FR : ET .
HI : REX

Rev.—CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO . Harp, 8
strings.

Hawkins 1. British Museum.

16. Sixpence. Mint-mark *obv.* only.

Obv.—CAROLVS . II . D : G : MAG : BRI . FRA : ET
HI : REX

Rev.—CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO . Harp, 6
strings.

Hawkins 1. [Pl. VI. 4.] British Museum.

17. Sixpence. Mint-mark *obv.* only.

Obv.—CAROLV . S . II . D : G : MAG : BRI [FR] ET .
HIB : REX

Rev.—CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO . Harp, 6
strings.

Hawkins 2. British Museum.

This is a very rare coin.

18. *Hammered half-groat. Mint-mark obv. only.*

Obv.—CAROLVS . II . D : G . MAG . B . FR . ET .
H . REX

Rev.—CHRISTO : AVSPICE : REGNO : Harp, 4
strings.

[Pl. VI. 5.] My Collection.

This variety is transitional between the First and Second issues. The legend on the reverse has long oval periods as shown above. (Compare No. 35.)

19. *Milled half-groat (normal type). Mint-mark obv. and rev.*

Obv.—CAROLVS . II : D : G : M : B : F : ET . H :
REX .

Rev.—CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO . Harp, 4
strings.

Hawkins 1. [Pl. VI. 6.]

20. *Milled half-groat (variety). Mint-mark rev. only.*

Obv.—CAROLVS . II . D . G . M . B . F . & . H . REX .

Rev.—CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO .

Formerly in Mr. Henry Webb's collection
(see *Nam. Chron.*, N.S. Vol. XIX. Pl. IV. 12).

The bust, though of normal type, descends to the edge of the coin, and the obverse legend commences as in the Fourth issue at the bottom of the left-hand side. (Compare Penny, No. 22.)

21. *Milled penny (normal type). Mint-mark obv. and rev.*

Obv.—CAROLVS . II : D : G : M : B : F : ET . H :
REX .

Rev.—CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO . Harp, 5
strings.

Hawkins 1. [Pl. VI. 7.]

22. Milled penny (variety). Mint-mark *rev.* only.

Obv.—CAROLVS . II . D . G . M . B . F . & . H . REX .

Rev.—CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO . Harp, 4
strings. [Pl. VI. 8.]

The bust, though of normal type, descends to the edge of the coin, and the obverse legend commences as in the Fourth issue at the bottom of the left-hand side. The substitution of an ampersand for ET in the obverse legend is a remarkable variation. Hawkins does not specifically notice this variety, but it is very interesting as it forms with the half-groat above (No. 20) a connecting link between the Second and Fourth issues. This coin is in my collection; another specimen is in the British Museum, and a third was formerly in Mr. Henry Webb's collection. It is figured in *Num. Chron.*, N.S. Vol. XIX. Pl. IV. 11.

THIRD ISSUE.

With numerals and inner circle.

23. Half-crown. Mint-mark *obv.* and *rev.*

Obv.—CAROLVS . II . D : G : MAG : BRIT : FRA :
ET . HIB : REX .

Rev.—CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO . Harp, 7
strings.

Unpublished.

My Collection.

24. Half-crown. Mint-mark *obv.* and *rev.*

Obv.—CAROLVS . II . D : G MAG . BRI : FRA : ET .
HIB : REX

Rev.—CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO . Harp, 7
strings.

Unpublished.

My Collection.

25. Half-crown. Mint-mark *obv.* and *rev.*

Obv.—CAROLVS · II · D : G : MAG : BRI : FR : ET .
HIB : REX

Rev.—CHRISTO AVSPICE . REGNO . Harp, 7
strings.

Unpublished. My Collection.

26. Half-crown. Mint-mark *obv.* and *rev.*

Obv.—CAROLVS · II · D : G : MAG : BR : FR : ET .
HIB : REX .

Rev.—CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO . Harp, 7
strings.

Hawkins 1. [PL. VI. 9.]

Two of the three specimens in the British
Museum omit the stop after REX.

27. Shilling. Mint-mark *obv.* and *rev.*

Obv.—CAROLVS · II · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FR · ET ·
HIB · REX

Rev.—CHRISTO · AVSPICE · REGNO · Harp, 7
strings.

Hawkins 3.

There are two specimens in the British
Museum, one of which has a colon after
MAG : BRIT ; and HIB : respectively, and the
other has a colon after MAG : only. The
stop after HIB is omitted, but it occurs after
REX . The reverse in both cases is similar
to the above-described coin. I only mention
this fact as indicating that several dies were
prepared.

28. Shilling. Mint-mark *obv.* and *rev.*

Obv.—CAROLVS · II · D : G · MAG : BRIT · FR · ET ·
HIB REX ·

Rev.—, CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO . Harp, 7 strings.

Hawkins 4.

British Museum.

The obverse is evidently produced by a spoilt or unfinished die which was not intended to be used.

29. Shilling. Mint-mark *obv.* and *rev.*

Obv.—, CAROLVS . II . D : G : MAG : BRI : FRA : ET .
HIB : REX .

Rev.—, CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO . Harp, 7 strings.

Hawkins 1.

The specimen in the British Museum omits the stops before CAROLVS and after REX.

30. Shilling. Mint-mark *obv.* and *rev.*

Obv.—CAROLVS . II . D : G : MAG : BR : FR : ET .
HI : REX .

Rev.—, CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO . Harp, 7 strings.

Hawkins 2.

The specimen in the British Museum omits the stop after REX and also those on the reverse before CHRISTO and after REGNO. Its harp has 6 strings.

31. Sixpence. Mint-mark *obv.* and *rev.*

Obv.—CAROLVS . II . D : G : MAG : BRI : FRA : ET .
HIB : REX

Rev.—, CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO . Harp, 6 strings.

Hawkins 1.

This appears to be the only sixpence belonging to the Third issue.

32.—Groat, second bust. Mint-mark *obv.* and *rev.*

Obv.—CAROLVS . II . D . G . MAG . BR . FR . ET .
HIB . REX .

Rev.—CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO . Harp, 5
strings.

Hawkins 1. [Pl. VI. 10.]

On the obverse the hair is parted so as to expose the shoulder. Of the two specimens in the British Museum, one has the same obverse as the above, but its reverse omits the stops before CHRISTO and after REGNO. The other omits the stops before CAROLVS and after REX but has the same reverse.

33. Three-pence, second bust. Mint-mark *obv.* and *rev.*

Obv.—CAROLVS . II . D . G . M . BR . FR . ET .
HI . REX .

Rev.—CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO . Harp, 4
strings.

Hawkins 1. [Pl. VI. 11.]

On the obverse the hair is parted so as to expose the shoulder.

34. Half-groat. Mint-mark *obv.* and *rev.*

Obv.—CAROLVS . II . D : G : MAG : BRI : FRA : ET .
HIB . REX

Rev.—CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO . Harp, 1
strings.

Hawkins 1.

Of the two specimens in the British Museum one is similar to the above. The other has a stop before 'CAROLVS' and after 'REX' on obverse, but the same reverse.

35. Half-groat. Mint-mark *obv.* and *rev.*

Obv.—CAROLVS . II . D . G . MAG : BRI : FRA : ET .
HIB : REX

Rev.—CHRISTO - AVSPICE : REGNO - Harp, 1
strings.

Hawkins 1. See *supra*, p. 61.

My Collection.

36. Half-groat. Mint-mark *obv.* and *rev.*

Obv.—CAROLVS . II . D : G : MAG : BRI : FR : ET .
HIB : REX

Rev.—CHRISTO AVSPICE REGNO Harp, 7 strings.
Hawkins 2.

This coin is given on the authority of
Snelling, Pl. xvi. 22.

37. Half-groat. Mint-mark *obv.* and *rev.*

Obv.—CAROLVS . II . D : G : MAG : BR : FR : ET .
HIB : REX

Rev.—CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO . Harp, 7 5
strings.

Unpublished.

My Collection.

38. Penny. Mint-mark *obv.* and *rev.*

Obv.—CAROLVS II D G MAG : BR : FR : ET . HIB REX

Rev.—CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO . Harp, 5
strings.

Unpublished.

My Collection.

39. Penny. Mint-mark *obv.* and *rev.*

Obv.—CAROLVS . II . D . G . M . BR . FR . ET .
HIB . REX

Rev.—CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO . Harp, 5
strings.

Unpublished.

My Collection.

40. Penny. Mint-mark *obv.* and *rev.*

Obv.—CAROLVS . II . D : G : M B F ET HIB REX
(no stops).

Rev.—CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO . Harp, 5
strings.

Hawkins 1.

The obverse of one specimen in the British
Museum reads . CAROLVS . II . D G M . B .
F . ET . HIB REX The obverse of another
reads CAROLVS . II . D . G : M : B : F : ET .
HIB : REX . but the reverses are in both
cases similar to that of the above-described
coin.

FOURTH ISSUE.

With numerals but no inner circle.

The bust descends to the edge of the coin and divides the legend, which commences at the bottom of the left-hand side. The hair is parted so as to expose the shoulder. This issue is *milled* not hammered, and the coins have the *second bust* of the King.

41. Groat. Mint-mark *rev.* only.

Obv.—CAROLVS . II D G . M B F & H . REX

Rev.—CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO Harp, 6 strings.
Hawkins 1. [Pl. VI. 12.]

42. Three-pence. Mint-mark *rev.* only.

Obv.—CAROLVS . II . D . G . M . B . F & H . REX

Rev.—CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO Harp, 5 strings.
Hawkins 1. [Pl. VI. 13.]

The specimens in the British Museum have 4 and 6 strings respectively to the harp, which shows that several dies were used for striking these coins.

43. Half-groat. Mint-mark *rev.* only.

Obv.—CAROLVS . II . D . G . M . B . F . & . H . REX

Rev.—CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO Harp, 7 strings.
Hawkins 1. [Pl. VI. 14, *obv.*]

44. Penny. Mint-mark *rev.* only.

Obv.—CAROLVS . II D . G . M . B . F & . H . REX

Rev.—CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO Harp, 6 strings.
Hawkins 1. [Pl. VI. 15, *obv.*]

T. H. B. GRAHAM.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Aes Grave, Das Schwergeld Roms und Mittelitaliens, einschließlich der ihm vorausgehenden Rohbronzezeitung, von Dr. jur. E. J. Haeberlin. 1^{er} Band, enthaltend die Münzverzeichnisse. Mit einem Atlas von 103 Tafeln Abbildungen. Frankfurt a. M. (Joseph Baer & Co.), 1910. 27 10s.

STUDENTS of Roman Numismatics are already familiar with the remarkable and epoch-making researches of Dr. Haeberlin, as embodied mainly in three articles, one of which ("Die Systematik des ältesten römischen Münzwesens"), published in 1905, has already been summarized in these pages some four years ago (*Num. Chron.*, Series IV. Vol. VIII. pp. 107ff.). The two other papers, which appeared in the *Berlin Zeitschrift*, vols. xxvi. and xxvii., dealt with a very much wider range of metrological problems than those presented by the early Roman bronze. Dr. Haeberlin's researches are, it has always been well known, based on an unrivalled collection of material. The fine volumes which are before us help to give some faint idea of the quantity and quality of that material, though hardly of the amount of patient and thorough research that has been required to bring order into and results out of it. Not that researches, however patient and thorough, ever lead to great discoveries, unless they are accompanied, as in this case, by the historic sense and imaginative power. Beginning with a nucleus of nine pieces of *aes grave* bequeathed to him by his father, Dr. Haeberlin in some twenty years has amassed a collection—by far the largest in existence—of about 2000 specimens. During twelve years all his leisure time has been spent, apart from such study as is possible at home, in visiting other collections in Great Britain, Denmark, Holland, Germany, Austria, France, and Italy. He has weighed or had weighed some 13,000 pieces, and made innumerable casts. On the splendid plates (104 in number) no less than 1493 coins are illustrated. The first volume provides a catalogue

of all the known specimens, in two sections. The first contains the amorphous bronze (*aes rude*) and the more primitive "bars," popularly but wrongly known as *aes signatum*. The second and much larger section comprises the *aes grave*, both the circular (sometimes oval) pieces with which every one is familiar, and the bars or bricks of a more developed form, which may have been used not so much for coinage as for certain ceremonial purposes. This *aes grave* is classified geographically, under Latium with Campania (including Rome and certain communities of Middle Italy with the right of coinage), Apulia, Vestini, Picenum, Umbria and Etruria. Brief descriptions of the finds of *aes rude* and the primitive "bars" are given in the first section. When we come to the second, some notion of the comprehensiveness of the work may be gained from the fact that of the urban libral *as*, from c. 335 to c. 286 B.C., no less than 1186 specimens have been weighed and catalogued, and their state of preservation recorded. Dr. Haeblerlin finds that about 10 per cent. of these are well over and about 30 per cent. well under weight, the heaviest being over $13\frac{1}{2}$ unciae, the lightest being about $9\frac{1}{2}$ unciae (the normal *libra* being 272.875 gr.).

The mass of materials brought together in this way naturally contains much that is new and strange. It is impossible to give details here, but one may call attention to the author's specimen of the "brick" with a bull on both sides, with an incised Umbrian inscription, meaning, apparently, that it was dedicated in the temple of Sestinum; and to the extraordinary tressis recently acquired by the Berlin Museum, with a janiform head (Silenus and Nymph) on the obverse, and the head of an antelope on the reverse.

The only person competent to criticize this work adequately is the author himself. His views (with the exception of one or two somewhat irresponsible attacks) have been generally accepted by all serious numismatists (not always with due acknowledgment) as in essentials correct. That there is much that is hypothetical, he would be the first to admit; that his classification supplies a good working hypothesis, whereas before there was mere chaos or empirical arrangement, no one can deny. It is a great pleasure to be able to congratulate the distinguished scholar and collector on his fine achievement.

G. F. HILL.

Corpus Nummorum Italicorum. Primo Tentativo di un Catalogo Generale delle Monete Medievali e Moderne Coniate in Italia o da Italiani in Altri Paesi, vol. i., Casa Savoia. Roma, Accademia de' Lincei. 1910.

THE King of Italy's reputation not only as a collector but also as a numismatist has for some time been well established. We believe that it is about twenty years since His Majesty began to form a cabinet of coins. At an early period he must have realized that to bring together a general yet fairly complete collection of coins which had been issued in Italy only would be practically an impossibility. The coinages of the Roman Republic and of the Empire form an unrivalled series, if not of such artistic merit as their predecessors of Magna Græcia yet far surpassing in their historical importance. This field has already been gone over by many numismatists, more especially by Cohen, whose *Monn. de l'Empire romain* is in itself practically a "Corpus," and Babelon, by his *Monn. de la République romaine*, has performed a similar task for that series. As there then remained but little to be done in either of those series, the King of Italy selected for his more particular study the mediæval and more recent issues of his country, which are even of a more varied character. The numerous series of coins which extend from mediæval times onwards have in a way been mostly described, but only in a somewhat incomplete manner. Moreover, what has been written is contained in many separate works and in numberless articles to the various numismatic and historical periodicals. Amongst the former may be briefly mentioned Orsini on the coinage of Florence; Promis on those of Savoy; Cinagli on Papal coins; and more recently Count Papadopoli on Venetian coins, Desimoni on coins of Genoa, and Fr. Gneocchi on those of Milan. To bring together all that has been described in almost a library of works, and to add what has since been discovered in one comprehensive work, is the object of the *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum* which the King of Italy has undertaken.

The science of numismatics, if we may use such an expression, has had many devotees of fame and of royal lineage. Not to go back to ancient times, Petrarch was an enthusiast in this respect; but he had to confine his attention to ancient coins. His example created many followers, amongst whom were Jean duc de Berry, brother of Charles V of France; Lionel, Marquis d'Este, who formed a collection of ancient coins, and whose successors added to it, but barbarously defaced the splendid pieces by stamping on them the family

crest, an eagle; Alphonso V of Aragon and Naples, of whom we have the grand medals by Pisano; and the Emperor Maximilian I, who founded the Imperial Library at Vienna, at the same time establishing the cabinet of coins which remains illustrious to the present day. Later we have Henry II of France and Catherine de Medicis, many of whose coins were illustrated by Goltzius; Henry IV, whose collection formed the basis of the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris, which Louis XIV used every effort to augment by employing agents to collect all over Europe. In our own country every numismatist knows the interest which Charles I took in medals, and how he always carried several about his person; and that the "King's Collection," formed by the Hanoverian sovereigns and presented by George IV to the nation, was one of the most extensive and valuable additions to the National Collection. Though many of these royal collectors encouraged the production of numismatic literature, yet none appear to have made any personal contributions. The King of Italy has carried his studies and researches to a higher degree and to a more practical purpose, for having formed an unrivalled collection of mediæval and more recent coins of Italy, he is placing it on record, and is adding to it such pieces as are known elsewhere. To produce a "Corpus" of Italian coins from mediæval times onwards is his aim and object, and we welcome most heartily the appearance of the first volume, which gives a description of the coins of the House of Savoy. It is estimated, we believe, that when completed the "Corpus" will consist of ten or more volumes, and will embrace a description of the issues of over 250 mints. Being a practical numismatist, there is no one more competent than His Majesty to superintend and direct so vast an undertaking.

The first volume, then, deals with the coinage of the House of Savoy from its earliest time. A short historical account is given of the Rulers and Princes of that House. Then follows a description of the coins, with their denominations, types, metals, sizes, and weights. To these are added some information about the mints whence the coins were issued, and also references to collections in which they occur. References are also given to the literature, and the state of preservation of each piece is noted. From the introduction we learn that the descriptions of the coins are mainly based on those in His Majesty's collection and in the Royal Collection at Turin, which was presented by the Crown. When a coin does not occur in either of these collections its whereabouts is noted. The series begins with the coinage of Count Amadeo IV of

Savoy (1232-1253), and is continued down to the present time. The text fills 552 pages in large quarto, and there are 42 photogravure plates giving illustrations of all the different types and many variations. The extent of the series and the numerous differences in type and legend will come as a surprise to many who are not very well acquainted with the series. In many public and national collections some pages of descriptions are represented by about half-a-dozen specimens. We venture to make only one suggestion, which is that it would have been of advantage if to each section some numismatic introductory note had been supplied. In the case of the coinage of Savoy, which is mainly historical, not artistic, this may not have been quite so necessary; but in future volumes, which will contain many extensive series such as those of Milan, Mantua, Florence, Genoa, Venice, and the Papal States, there is much not only of artistic merit but of the highest importance numismatically and economically. It was from Florence that Europe derived its gold mediaeval coinage, and it was in Milan, Mantua, etc., that we see the origin of the testoons and the works of Benvenuto Cellini, Leonardo da Vinci, Caradosso, and other great artists.

We hope it will not be considered presumptuous if we offer our congratulations to His Majesty on the publication of the first volume of his great work, and if we add our best wishes for its progress. The production of such large volumes is a most arduous task; but the speed with which the first one has been passed through the press augurs well for the early appearance of the next one.

H. A. GRUBER.

[We have been requested to state that His Majesty, the King of Italy, has been pleased to appoint Signor Ulrico Hoepli, Publisher, Galleria de Cristoforis, Milan, sole agent for the sale of the *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum*.—EDD.]

V.

SOME UNPUBLISHED GREEK COINS.

(See Plate VII.)

THE amount of study bestowed on all branches of Greek numismatics, and the importance attached to minute variations in type and fabric, encourage me in thinking that the following coins from my collection may be thought worthy of publication although no one of them can claim to be of first-rate importance.

1. CHIOS.

Obv.—Sphinx of archaic style, with curved wing, seated l. on dotted (?) exergual line; the r. forepaw raised, and a tendril-like ornament projecting from the back of its head. Between its legs a cock's head l. Border of small dots.

Rev.—Deep incuse square divided into four rectangular parts of unequal size.

$AR. \frac{0.75}{0.5} \left(\frac{19.50}{12.75} \text{ mm.} \right)$; Wt. 121.8 grs. (7.895 grammes). Chian didrachm. [Pl. VII. 1.]

(From the Philipsen Collection sold at Munich in December, 1909, lot 2242 of Dr. Hirsch's catalogue.)

Very little seems to be known about the earliest silver coinage of Chios. Even if the island is not allowed to claim all archaic coins exhibiting a seated sphinx there

are enough varieties extant to account for issues lasting well through the sixth century B.C., and probably further back still. The specimens that we possess, however, of these issues are so very scarce that it is hoped that no apology may be needed for gathering together here the few known facts concerning them, and for putting one or two new ones upon record.

Since the Chians took a large share in the settlement of the Milesian colony of Naukratis, founded early in the seventh century B.C., it is not surprising that lower Egypt should have preserved some of their relics. As a matter of fact, the finds on and around the site of Naukratis are our main source of supply for the particular coins under consideration.

Before the discovery of the Sakha hoard in 1897, which included several Chian didrachms, described partly by Sir Hermann Weber¹ and partly by Dr. Dressel,² the recognized sixth-century silver coinage of Chios was limited to the type shown on Pl. xxxii. 1 of *B. M. Cat. : Ionia*,³ in which a sphinx of refined archaic style appears seated to l. before an amphora, and to a few disconnected pieces of peculiar weight and rude workmanship. These are the two didrachms on the Aeginetic standard, published by Canon Greenwell in *Num. Chron.*, 1890, p. 18, Pl. II. 15; the unusually light didrachm published by the same author, *ibid.* p. 4, Pl. I. 16; and an unpublished didrachm in the British Museum Collection, apparently belonging to the Euboic standard.

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1899, pp. 276-278, Pl. XVI. 2, 3, and 4.

² *Zeitschrift für Num.*, 1900, vol. xxii., pp. 238-241, Pl. viii. 6 and 7.

³ This coin, No. 2 of the *Catalogue*, is actually dated circa 490 B.C., but a similar piece from the famous silversmith's hoard at Naukratis is given by Dr. Head to the year 500 B.C. or thereabouts, *Num. Chron.*, 1886, p. 5.

These two groups in themselves provide but a skeleton battalion to cover the sixth-century field as they are separated from each other by at least a hundred years.⁴ But the coins from the Sakha hoard, all of which are struck on the characteristic Chian standard, fill the gap almost completely. They fit in admirably in point of style after Canon Greenwell's light didrachm, which, judging from its incuse, is the oldest of all these coins with the exception of his two Aeginetan didrachms,⁵ and they show, moreover, several stages of development both in the obverse type and in the incuse reverse. This can be readily seen by any one who will compare the plates of the publications mentioned above.⁶

The chief points of difference between these early issues and the fully developed fifth-century type, or even the intermediate class already referred to as No. 2 of the *B. M. Cat.*, are the absence of the customary amphora everywhere, and, on certain specimens, the raised forepaw of the sphinx, its curious head-ornament, and the occurrence of varying symbols in the field.

The amphora is not an essential part of the main type, and one would hardly expect to meet with it on the simpler work of an early period. Still, the introduction of such a feature is a bigger *saltus* in the evolution of the type than any that had taken place previously, and seems to call for some explanation, such as a slight break in the coinage. This can be found in the interval between 494 and 478 B.C. when, as it is generally recognized, the

⁴ Compare Dr. Dressel, *op. cit.*

⁵ These pieces belong to quite a different category, and seem to be undoubtedly seventh-century coins.

⁶ Dr. Head has already collected all these coins under Chios in his new edition of the *Historia Numorum*, 1911, but I have recapitulated them here in order to make my case as complete as possible.

islanders cannot have been in a condition to coin money. The terrible vengeance taken by the Persians for the part Chios had played at the battle of Lade must have destroyed all political life for a time, even if the island were not entirely depopulated.

If the sixth-century coinage were made to cease with the genuinely archaic type of didrachm illustrated here, Nos. 1 and 2, Pl. VII., and if the intermediate class of refined archaic type were moved forward to the early part of the next period, say 478-450 B.C., we should then have a distinct break in style and type as well as in time. As at present arranged, no greater change appears to have taken place in the type, after coinage was resumed under the Athenian hegemony, *circa* 478 B.C., than is represented by the comparatively slight transition between the coins illustrated under Nos. 1 and 3, Pl. xxxii. of the *B. M. Cat.: Ionia*. Though the foregoing may be considered a somewhat fanciful argument, a more cogent reason for the suggested change is to be deduced from the style of Nos. 2, 3, and 4, Pl. xxxii. of the *B. M. Cat.*, which is surely too good for the early portion of the period assigned to them.⁷

To return to the principal part of the subject. The unfamiliar attitude of the sphinx on some of the coins described by Sir Hermann Weber and Dr. Dressel might cause dispute as to Chios being their true place of origin.⁸

* Some most interesting examples of transitional coins are illustrated in the Sale Catalogue of the Philipsen Collection, Nos. 2243 and 2244, Pl. xxvi. The latter has the letter X engraved in one of the four depressions of the incuse square. In the Sale Catalogue of the Sherman Benson Collection, sold at Messrs. Sotheby's in February, 1909, a different type is illustrated, No. 696, which seems to come between Nos. 1 and 2, Pl. VII., and No. 1, Pl. xxxii., *B. M. Cat.: Ionia*.

⁷ Compare Dr. Dressel, *op. cit.*

As a matter of fact, the raised forepaw serves as a connecting link between the early electrum staters belonging to the Phoenician standard, on some of which it occurs and with which these silver didrachms are no doubt contemporary,⁹ and the large bronze issues of Imperial times where this position became the rule. Further confirmation, too, is afforded by a little electrum coin of the sixth century published by M. Babelon, on which a sphinx is depicted seated r. with its off forepaw raised above the letter x.¹⁰

The so-called "plumes" worn by the sphinx on these early coins, but discarded later, seem to have been commonly used on small works of art of the seventh and sixth centuries.¹¹

It is hard to say exactly what the ornament is intended to represent, but M. Babelon's description of it as a vine-tendril¹² is very attractive on account of the connexion of the sphinx with the worship of Dionysos. If his view be accepted, an interesting parallel suggests itself between the three olive-leaves on the helmet of Athena at Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries,

⁹ See No. 2241 Sale Catalogue of Philipsen Collection, sold November, 1909; and No. 701, do. do., Lambros Collection, sold November, 1910; also Babelon's *Traité de Num.*, part i., p. 191, No. 388, Pl. viii. 9, where one of the later electrum staters is figured showing a sphinx seated r. with its further forepaw raised over an amphora surmounted by a bunch of grapes. This coin, which weighs 15.34 grammes and is one of the fifth-century Phocaic staters, thus exhibits the fully developed fifth-century type combined with the raised forepaw.

¹⁰ Babelon's *Traité de Num.*, part i., p. 191, No. 335, Pl. viii. 7. This coin weighs 1.14 grammes, and is a one-twelfth stater of the Phoenician standard.

¹¹ See *Num. Chron.* for 1887, Pl. IV. 23, 27, and 29, for its occurrence on coins; *Bull. de Corr. Hell.*, ii. Pl. xvii. 1 and 2, and Pl. xviii. 1, for ivories; and some of the gold plaques exhibited in the British Museum from the foundation deposit of the great temple at Ephesus.

¹² See *Traité de Num.*, part i., pp. 190, 191.

amplified into the wreath encircling the reverse type of coins of the New Style,¹³ and the similarly conventionalized vine-wreath on the head of the primitive sphinx, reappearing in a complete form on the reverse of some of the first-century drachms.¹⁴

With regard to the symbols in the field, the references to these in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, mentioned above, are the first that have so far been made to the best of my knowledge. No. 30 of Dr. Dressel's paper has a rosette in the field to l., and No. 33 is described as having a small head(?) to l. between the legs of the sphinx. These symbols must be classed separately like the coins bearing them. In the case of No. 30, Pl. viii. 6, which is the older coin of the two, the rosette looks like a pure ornament in the Ionian manner, made for the purpose of filling a blank space in the field; but the small head(?) of No. 33 is more in the nature of one of the marks indicating some particular magistrate or *officina*. Such marks were unusual in most mints at this early date, though they appear to have been customary at Teos.¹⁵ Coins bearing these marks cannot well be alliance pieces as the adjunct is too insignificant in comparison with the main part of the type. Besides, as Prof. P. Gardner has pointed out in his *Samos and Samian Coins*, pp. 24-26, their variety, when the symbols in question do occur, precludes such an assumption.¹⁶

¹³ See Beulé's *Monnaies d'Athènes*, p. 82, where, however, the wreath is traced, perhaps more accurately, to the olive-spray on the old reverse types.

¹⁴ Dr. Head calls this an ivy-wreath in both editions of the *Historia Numorum: Chios*. See also No. 4, Pl. xxxii., *Brit. Mus. Cat.: Ionia*, where the obverse type of a fifth-century didrachm is enclosed in a vine-wreath.

¹⁵ *B. M. Cat.: Ionia*, pp. 309-312, Pl. xxx. 2, 3, 4, and 5.

¹⁶ Professor Gardner's No. 11, an electrum hekte of Lesbos referred

The following list comprises all the coins that I have been able to trace bearing these symbols:—

Obv.—Sphinx of rude archaic style, seated l., on plain exergual line. On its head a tendril-like ornament; in field, a rosette.

Rev.—Deep incuse square, plain in the case of No. 1, roughly quartered in Nos. 2 and 3.

1. Didrachm, published by Canon Greenwell, *Num. Chron.*, 1890, p. 4, Pl. I. 16. Wt. 105· grs. (6·81 grammes).
2. Didrachm, published by Dr. Dressel, *Zeitschrift für Num.*, 1900, pp. 238–241, No. 30, Pl. viii. 6. Wt. 119· grs. (7·73 grammes). In the Berlin Museum.
3. Didrachm, unpublished, but quoted by Dr. Head in his *Hist. Num.: Chios*, ed. 1911, p. 599. Wt. 129·9 grs. (8·424 grammes). In the British Museum.

It cannot be stated positively that there is a rosette on No. 1, but I venture to include it here as there are marks on the edge of the coin, judging from the illustration only, that suggest the presence of such a symbol on the original die. The whole character of the sphinx too is so like that of Nos. 2 and 3, that the coin falls naturally into the same category. The same cannot be said of Sir Hermann Weber's didrachm, Pl. XVI. 2 of *Num. Chron.*, 1899, although the sphinx there is also of very similar style. It may be worth while remarking at this point that, if the weights are to be trusted, the above group of three coins represents at least two, and possibly three, different standards. Canon Greenwell's didrachm, however, is probably only a light specimen of the ordinary Chian standard.

to specially on p. 26, *op. cit.*, is of particular interest in the present case as a cock appears on it below the type. Compare also Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 484, ed. 1887.

Obv.—Sphinx of archaic style seated l. on dotted exergual line with r. forepaw raised. On its head tendril-like ornament. Between its legs a cock's head l. Border of dots.

Rev.—Deep incuse square, roughly quartered by lines of varying thickness.

4. Didrachm, published by Dr. Dressel, *Zeitschrift für Num.*, 1900, pp. 238–241, No. 33, Pl. viii. 7. Wt. 121·2 grs. (7·86 grammes). In the Berlin Museum.
5. Didrachm, published by Sir H. Weber, *Num. Chron.*, 1899, p. 277, No. 16, Pl. XVI. 4. Wt. 111·9 grs. (7·244 grammes).
6. Didrachm, published now by the kind permission of J. R. McClean, Esq. [Pl. VII. 2.] Wt. 119·7 grs. (7·76 grammes). In the McClean Collection, Fitzwilliam Museum.
7. Didrachm, published now, Pl. VII. 1. Wt. 121·8 grs. (7·895 grammes). In my collection.

I include Nos. 4 and 5 under this type on grounds of general resemblance. It is impossible to assert that the symbol between the legs of the sphinx is a cock's head in either case, but both coins have some symbol or other in that position, and it looks very much like the cock's head on Nos. 6 and 7. It seems as well to notice them here, therefore, as anywhere else. Although, in all probability, these four coins represent the same issue, they are struck from different dies.

Obv.—Sphinx of archaic style, seated l. on plain exergual line with its r. forepaw raised. On its head tendril-like ornament. Between its legs a flower. No border visible.

Rev.—Incuse square of four divisions (not illustrated in catalogue of O'Hagan Collection).

8. Didrachm, forming part of lot 587 of the O'Hagan Collection, sold in London, May, 1908. Wt. 120· grs. (7·84 grammes).
9. Broken didrachm known to Dr. Dressel.

Dr. Dressel also kindly informs me that he knows of no other silver coin of Chios of this early period with a symbol in the field. M. Svoronos writes that he knows of several such symbols on similar coins in private collections, but he gives no particulars of them beyond saying that he has never seen the cock's head.

2. CHIOS.

Obv.—Sphinx, with curved wing seated l. on plain exergual line. Before it a bunch of grapes. Border of dots.

Rev.—ΧΙΩΝ r., ΓΛΑΥΚΟΣ l. of amphora. The whole in vine-wreath tied below.

↑↑¹⁷ R. 0.75 (19.75 mm.); Wt. 54.8 grs. (3.55 grammes). Attic drachm. [Pl. VII. 3.]

This drachm with the inscription ΧΙΩΝ in place of the usual ΧΙΟΣ appears to be unknown. I have been unable to trace any other specimen. Mr. E. J. Seltman, from whom I obtained the coin, suggests that it should be dated 87–85 B.C., or a little while before Sulla made Chios a free ally of Rome, after which event the well-known series of Attic drachms is generally supposed to have begun. The absence of any symbol gives the coin a comparatively early look if taken by itself, since symbols were not used on the first bronze issues of this period. But the low weight, the rough workmanship, and, above all, the word ΧΙΩΝ, prompt me to select the end of the series, 84 B.C.,—Imp. Times, instead of its beginning as the proper place for the coin. There is no lack of examples of drachms reading ΧΙΟΣ, of which

¹⁷ The ↑↑ throughout this paper indicate the position of the dies when fixed in accordance with the suggestion made by Dr. G. Macdonald in *Corolla Numismatica*, "Fixed and Loose Dies in Coinage."

the weight approaches much more nearly to the full Attic standard than in this, and of which the style and execution are more careful. The prominence of the breast, too, so noticeable here in spite of the careless drawing, is characteristic of the bronze coins of Imperial times, when the female sex of the sphinx was insisted upon much more than at any previous period of the island's coinage. At this time, during the second and third centuries A.D., the word ΧΙΩΝ entirely superseded the older ΧΙΟΣ, which up to then had prevailed unaltered. It is probable, therefore, that in the drachm now published, we have one of the latest, if not the very latest, of the Chian mint's silver issues.

3. CHIOS AND ERYTHRAE.

Obv.—ΔΗΜΟC · ΧΙΩΝ above diademed bust of Demos
r. Border of dots.

Rev.—ΟΜΟΝΟΙ ΑΧΙ ΩΝΕΡΥ ΘΡΑΙ ΩΝ : around Nude
statue of Erythraean Hercules standing r.
on plain exergual line, holding aloft club in r.,
and in l. extending lion's mask r., from which
the two forepaws hang down. Border of dots.

↑↓ Æ. 0.85 (22.00 mm.); Wt. 61.8 grs.
(4.01 grammes). [Pl. VII. 4.]

4. CHIOS AND ERYTHRAE.

Obv.—ΕΡΥΘΡΑΙΩΝ · above Sphinx, seated l. on plain
exergual line, raising r. forepaw over amphora
which leans outwards. Border of dots.

Rev.—Practically identical with the preceding.

↑↑ Æ. 0.85 (21.25 mm.); Wt. 77.1 grs.
(5.00 grammes). [Pl. VII. 5.]

These two coins are of quite different types from the specimens in the British Museum collection of the

so-called alliance coins between Chios and Erythrae. It is, of course, generally agreed to-day that the *ὁμόνοιαι* mentioned on this class of Imperial coins have nothing in common with the *συνμαχίαι* of the free Greek states.¹⁸

5. ATHENS.

Obv.—Head of Athena r. of rude archaic style in close-fitting crested helmet.

Rev.—ΑΘ[Ε] r., of Owl standing r., head facing in deep incuse square. No olive spray.

R. 0·25 (5·75 mm.); Wt. 3·1 grs. (0·217 gramme). Attic tetartemorion of sixth century B.C. (Bought in Athens.) [Pl. VII. 6.]

There is no example of this denomination in the British Museum Collection, the smallest coin there, belonging to the first Athenian issues, being a hemiobol weighing 5·9 grains = 0·382 gramme. The coin cabinet of Athens, however, has a similar piece to this weighing 2·4 grains (0·15 gramme), and that of Berlin has two, of which one weighs 3·9 grains (0·25 gramme) and the other 2·8 grains (0·18 gramme). There was a good deal of irregularity in the weighing of the blanks for these small coins, and it is probable that all the above were intended for quarter obols, though on the whole the weights were more generally full than short at this early period.¹⁹

6. ATHENS.

Obv.—Monogram ΑΘ in middle of plain field.

Rev.—Athena advancing r., carrying spear in r. hand and extending l. She is clothed in a long chiton,

¹⁸ Compare Lenormant's *La Monnaie dans l'Antiquité*, vol. ii. pp. 60, 61, where the author describes some of these coins as records of municipal acts of politeness between cities of different standing.

¹⁹ Compare Beulé's *Monnaies d'Athènes*, p. 13, note 3, pp. 54, 63.

and wears besides crested Athenian helmet and aegis. In field r. coiled serpent with head erect. The whole in olive-wreath tied below (†).

$\uparrow \rightarrow \text{Æ. } \frac{0.9}{0.8} \left(\frac{22.75}{20.00} \text{ mm.} \right)$; Wt. 129.6 grs.
(8.40 grammes). [Pl. VII. 7.]

(From the Philipsen Collection, sold at Munich in November, 1909, lot 995 of Dr. Hirsch's catalogue.)

Whether this curious bronze piece is to be called a coin or a tessera is a problem that I do not pretend to be able to solve. Opinions on the subject are various and contradictory. At first sight it might plausibly be taken for a tessera on the score of its novel appearance, and its failure to resemble any known type of Athenian copper coin, at least on the obverse side. But, as M. Svoronos says, what kind of tessera? I cannot do better than quote his words written in reply to my inquiry on the subject. "The Athenian bronze is most certainly a coin and not a tessera, having the monogram $\Lambda\Theta\text{E}$ overstruck upon the head of Athena.²⁰ The $\Lambda\Theta\text{E}$ may well be a countermark on that Athenian coin, and it is possible, too, that this countermark had the effect of changing the coin into a tessera. But what kind of tessera? We can say nothing positive about this." The fact that the flan is split would seem to bear out this theory of overstriking. The question must apparently be left unsettled for the present, but it is to be noted that the reverse of the piece does not bear the letters $\Lambda\Theta\text{E}$, without which, in some form or other, none of the bronze coins of Athens were issued previous to Imperial times.

²⁰ This refers of course to the obverse type of No. 563 of the *B. M. Cat.*: *Attica*, a variety of which is illustrated, Pl. xiv. 8.

7. AEGINA (1).

Obv.—Helmeted (1) head r., like that of Athena on the late fifth-century coinage at Athens.

Rev.—1A (1) above sea-turtle, head downwards, showing structure of shell with 10 plates to its carapace. Incuse circle.

R. 0.2 (5.00 mm.); Wt. 1.4 grs. (0.177 gramme). Attic tetartemorion. [Pl. VII. 8.]

(From the Philipsen Collection, sold at Munich, November, 1909, lot 1029 of Dr. Hirsch's catalogue.)

In 456 B.C. the island of Aegina became tributary to Athens, and, though the regular issues of staters closed, a small currency was inaugurated for local use. This is represented by the triobol, No. 172 of the *British Museum Cat.: Attica, &c.*, Pl. xxiv. 15, as shown by Mr. Earle Fox in *Corolla Numismatica*: "Early Coinages of European Greece."

After 431 B.C., when the inhabitants were completely expelled by the Athenians till their restoration under Lysander in 404 B.C., no money at all is supposed to have been struck in Aegina,²¹ as no local issues were presumably required. If the evidence of the little coin now described were above suspicion, it would seem as though our opinions on this subject, plausible though they are, would have to be revised. We apparently have a coin of Athenian weight and fabric²² bearing the head of the great tutelary goddess of Athens on the obverse, and the sea-turtle of Aegina on the reverse, with the letters AI

²¹ Compare Head, *B. M. Cat.: Attica*, Intro., p. lxviii.

²² The distinctive feature about the fabric is the method of striking employed. As pointed out by Mr. Earle Fox in the paper referred to above in *Cor. Num.*, all Aeginetan coins are, to use his phrase, anvil-struck. This coin, like the Athenian issues with which it is compared, is, on the contrary, punch-struck.

retrograde. This is more or less what one might have expected from the Athenian kleruchs, if they had wished to make a local issue, even down to the adoption of the sea-turtle on the reverse in place of their parent city's crescent.²³ The sea-turtle rather than the land-tortoise bears out Mr. Earle Fox's contention that the latter did not make its appearance on the Aeginetan coinage till after the return of the island's original population at the end of the Peloponnesian war.²⁴ But it must be admitted that the head on the obverse is not very like the head of Athena on the supposed contemporary coins of the same value at Athens, that the presence of the helmet is doubtful, and that there is considerable uncertainty about the letters on the reverse. The coin may belong to some other mint. Until some more satisfactory source of origin can be found for it, however, there may be some justification for weaving a romance about it if it would at least have the effect of drawing other similar coins from their hiding-places in private collections.

8. LOCRI OPUNTII.

Obv.—Amphora in high relief.

Rev.—O in one division of an incuse square, divided by broad bands into five unequal parts in the Aeginetan manner.

R. 0.4 (9.75 mm.); *Wt.* 9 grs. (0.715 gramme). Aeginetic obol. [Pl. VII. 9.]

(From the Philipsen Collection, sold at Munich in November, 1909, lot 812, of Dr. Hirsch's catalogue, and previously No. 1612 of the Rhusopoulos Collection.)

This obol seems to be made in imitation of the

²³ Compare *B. M. Cat.: Attica*, Nos. 197–206, and Pl. v. 21.

²⁴ Compare Earle Fox, *op. cit.*

Aeginetan coinage, like the early issues of the neighbouring city of Orchomenus in Boeotia.²⁵ As in the case of the sprouting wheat-ear at Orchomenus, the amphora on this coin comes sufficiently near to the tortoise in appearance to be a colourable imitation of it, and the incuse device of the reverse is closely modelled on the late fifth-century Aeginetan pattern.²⁶

The earliest coins of Opous, properly speaking, in the National Collection are the obols, Nos. 2-6 of the *B. M. Cat.: Central Greece*, illustrated Pl. i. 2, and dated 387-369 B.C. Before them, *circa* 400-387 B.C., is placed an obol, No. 1 of the Catalogue, Pl. i. 1, which has Λ on the reverse. Although this Λ, no doubt, stands for ΛΟΚΡΩΝ, the O on the obverse probably shows that Opous was the recognized place of mintage even at this period. There seems, therefore, to be no objection to placing the above piece a little earlier still on the strength of its reverse, which, although only a conventionalized incuse square, is older than the genuine reverse type of No. 1, *B. M. Cat.: Central Greece*.²⁷

Since, according to Mr. Earle Fox's theory referred to above, his Class v. of the Aeginetan coinage, on which the first "testudo Graeca" appears, did not begin till 404 B.C., there is no necessity for assigning this coin to any earlier date than the opening of the period 400-387 B.C.

²⁵ *B. M. Cat.: Central Greece*, Introd., p. xxxvi., and Pl. viii. 3 and 6. See also G. F. Hill's *Historical Greek Coins*, pp. 6, 7.

²⁶ *B. M. Cat.: Attica*, Pl. xxiv. 16 and 17. Earle Fox's class v., *Cor. Num.*, p. 36.

²⁷ Another reason for giving this coin an earlier date than the existing B. Mus. specimens is that it is anvil-struck, like all Aeginetan coins, whereas all subsequent types of Opous are punch-struck. Compare Earle Fox, *op. cit.*, p. 41, for a similar change at Corinth.

9. SYRACUSE.

Obv.—Head of Pallas, full-face inclined to l., in crested Athenian helmet.

Rev.—Nude horseman walking r. on plain exergual line. In field l. above, eight-rayed star.

R. 0.5 (12.75 mm.); Wt. 19. grs. (1.24 grammes). $1\frac{1}{2}$ -litra piece. [PL. VII. 10.]

In Dr. Head's *Coins of Syracuse*, p. 29, the silver issues of the restored democracy under Timoleon are tabulated. The above coin clearly belongs to these issues, but it differs from the varieties enumerated by Dr. Head in the following particulars. His $1\frac{1}{2}$ -litra pieces are of two different obverse types—one with the head of Kyane to l., and the other with that of Arethusa to l. with dolphins. Both these types have a half-pegasus on the reverse, and, consequently, bear no resemblance to the above. On the other hand, when this type does appear in Dr. Head's list, it is on pieces of $2\frac{1}{2}$ litrae, and the obverse has two dolphins facing, in addition to the full-faced head of Pallas.²⁹ This coin, being in very good condition, cannot have lost much weight, and therefore seems to provide us with a new type for the $1\frac{1}{2}$ -litra denomination.

My thanks are due to all the gentlemen who have so kindly supplied me with information about the coins of Chios: Dr. Dressel of Berlin, MM. Babelon and Svoronos of Paris and Athens, Mr. Macdonald of Glasgow, and Messrs. Wroth and Hill of the British Museum; to Mr. McClean for giving me permission to publish his didrachm; and to Mr. E. J. Seltman, to whose keen observation I owe the pleasure of possessing several of the above-mentioned coins.

J. MAVROGORDATO.

²⁹ Compare Head's *Coins of Syracuse*, Pl. vi. 9, 11, and 14.

VI.
ON THE DATED COINS OF JULIUS CAESAR
AND MARK ANTONY.



FIG. 1.—Aureus of Julius Caesar with LII.

AMONG the most vexed problems of Roman numismatics is to be reckoned the interpretation of certain coins of Julius Caesar and Mark Antony which are inscribed with numerals apparently indicating the age of the issuing personage.¹ The precise meaning of these symbols has been canvassed by numerous writers, but no obviously satisfactory explanation of them has yet been given. It may therefore be permitted to renew in these pages the discussion of the subject.

On the coins of Julius Caesar the numeral LII has been held to subserve two purposes—it signifies that the mintage was a birthday issue,² and it reminds the public who used this money that Caesar had reached

¹ Babelon, *Monnaies Consulaires*, vol. ii. pp. 17-18; Cohen, vol. i. pp. 10-11; Hill, *Historical Roman Coins*, pl. xi. nos. 58-9, and p. 103; Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic*, i. p. 505, nos. 3953-8.

² Hill, *loc. cit.*

the age which qualified him to stand for a second consulship.³

The former of these hypotheses, though at first sight the most alluring, will scarcely bear a closer scrutiny. As the pieces in question are of Roman fabric,⁴ they could not have been struck before 49 B.C., the year of Caesar's return to Rome from Gaul. But the birthday which Caesar celebrated in 49 B.C. was his 53rd, not his 52nd,⁵ and cannot have been expressed by the symbol LII.

Also by the time his birthday came round—the exact date is July 11th—Caesar had long ago exhausted the Roman treasury; already depleted on his arrival in Rome, it was left absolutely empty by his depredations in the month of April. Thus it is difficult to conceive from what source the bullion for the mintage of July could have been provided. Again, the coinage under consideration was clearly of a military character, and no doubt intended in the first place for the payment of Caesar's troops. But the bulk of these had been transported to Spain during the spring, and therefore could have benefited little by a contemporary striking of money in Rome.

The "consular" theory is also open to several objections. (a) Modern scholars who have duly read up the matter in Mommsen's *Staatsrecht* may be aware that 52 was the age at which a man, after obtaining his first consulship at 43, was legally entitled to sue for a second

³ Hill, *loc. cit.*; De Salis, *Revue Archéologique*, July, 1866, pp. 17-22; Grueber, i. p. 505 n.

⁴ De Salis, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Mommsen, *History of Rome* (Engl. Transl.; ed. 1894), iv. p. 278 n. The above objection still holds good, *mutatis mutandis*, if the traditional date of Caesar's birth, 100 B.C., be retained.

tenure of office. But can the average Roman voter be credited with such knowledge of the minutiae of the Roman constitution? Surely the hint embodied in the cryptic $\perp\parallel$ would have been too delicate to convey the required information to the electors. (b) The question of Caesar's re-election to the consulship was no doubt a matter of burning importance to him so long as he was seeking to evade impeachment by the peaceful expedient of stepping out of one magistracy into another. Once Caesar had crossed the Rubicon and thrown constitutional procedure to the winds his investment with office became a matter of indifference to him. It remains true that he was in point of fact returned consul for 48 B.C., but it does not follow that he had courted this honour. Indeed, in April, 49, the time at which he most probably struck the coins,⁶ he had been driven by the exigencies of his position to take a highly arbitrary line of action and to cause widespread discontent by his autocratic methods.⁷ It is therefore most unlikely that Caesar selected this moment for soliciting appointment to a constitutional post.

In the search for an alternative solution of the problem it may be useful to consider the symbol $\perp\parallel$ in connexion with the reverse type of these coins, which in every case displays an ostentatious trophy of Galliespoil. This design constitutes a veritable *type parlant*, for it illustrates most aptly the reply made by Caesar to those who upbraided him for raiding the reserve fund of the Roman treasury,⁸

⁶ This is the date accepted by de Salis and Grueber (*loc. cit.*).

⁷ Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, x. 4-8; x. 8-6; Plutarch, *Caesar*, ch. 35.

⁸ Appian, *Bell. Civ.*, ii. 41: τῶν τε ἀψαύστων ἐκίνει χρημάτων, ἃ φάσιν ἐπὶ Κέλτοις πάλαι σὺν ἀρχῇ δημοσίᾳ τεθῆναι, μὴ σαλεύειν ἐς μηδὲν, εἰ μὴ Κελτικὸς πόλεμος ἐπίοι. ὃ δὲ ἔφη Κέλτους αὐτὸς ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλέςτατον ἔλῶν, λελυκέναι τῇ πόλει τὴν ἀράν.

and it is all the more topical for being in all probability graven upon the very metal whose appropriation Caesar was seeking to justify. Now the publication of Caesar's age may be taken as standing in relation to this pictorial argument. The year of Caesar's birth, 102 B.C., is distinguished in Roman history by the repulse of the Teutones and the reconquest of Roman Gaul at the hands of C. Marius. This exploit of a kinsman Caesar had been ever ready to bring back to the notice of the public,⁹ and fifty-two years after the event he had a very special reason for recalling it to memory. Caesar himself by his recent conquests in Gaul had repeated Marius' achievement on a larger scale: Marius had stayed, Caesar had ended the northern peril. On this showing the numeral XLII on Caesar's coins reinforced the lesson of their reverse type: it invited comparison between the events of 102 B.C. and those preceding his return to Rome, and thus set him off as the second and chief defender of Rome's northern frontier.

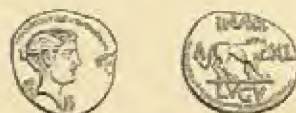


FIG. 3.—Quinarus of Mark Antony with XL.

For the coins of Mark Antony which bear the symbols XL and XLII¹⁰ the current explanation is that they were issued as a donative on the occasion of his birthday. In the case of the coin marked XL the theory can hardly be made consistent with chronology. Antony's natal year

⁹ Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, ch. 11.

¹⁰ Babelon, *op. cit.*, i. pp. 168-9, nos. 32 and 32a; Cohen, vol. i. p. 51; Hill, *op. cit.*, pl. xlii. nos. 76-7, and pp. 124-5; Grueber, *op. cit.*, ii. pp. 324-7, nos. 40-43, 48-51.

was not 82 B.C., as has been commonly supposed, but 83;¹¹ and it is highly probable that his birth took place in one of the earlier months.¹² His fortieth birthday would thus fall in a portion of the year 43, in which Antony neither had any surplus funds for a donative nor yet any authority to strike money at Lugudunum, the place at which the coin was minted.¹³

The legend LVGV DVNI on this same piece has been regarded as a record of the opening of a new mint at the foundation of that town.¹⁴ This suggestion fits in admirably with the interpretation of XL as marking the age of Antony, for the date of Lugudunum's birth is 43 B.C. It remains to inquire why this inaugural issue should make such unmistakable reference to Antony as is contained in the legend XL. A clue may be found in a passage of the *Apotheosis of Claudius* (ch. 6), where the emperor Claudius, a native of Lugudunum, is described as municeps *Marci* (sc. Antoni; the readings *Planci* and *Munati* have no MS. authority).

¹¹ This point has been conclusively established by Gardthausen, *Augustus*, vol. ii. p. 5, note 22.

¹² Antony's last birthday was the occasion of a reconciliation between him and Cleopatra, which caused Octavian to depart from Italy before the end of the wintry season (Plutarch, *Antonius*, chs. 33 *fin.*, 34 *init.*). The festival must have preceded Octavian's departure by some weeks, and therefore cannot have taken place later than February. On the other hand it cannot be referred back to the end of 31 B.C., for this would leave no room for the numerous events described by Plutarch, chs. 68-73, as falling between Antony's birthday and the battle of Actium (September 2nd).

¹³ Plancus, the governor of Gallia Comata, remained ostensibly loyal to the Senate till June, 43 (Cicero, *Ad Familiares*, xi. 13).

¹⁴ F. Bompols, *Revue Numismatique*, 1868, pp. 78-83. That the coin marked XL was a military and not a municipal one, as Bompols supposes, is shown by the type and legend (H. Willers, *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 1902, p. 85), and by the statement of Strabo (iv. p. 192) that the *A* and *R* coins of Lugudunum were proconsular.

Further evidence of Antony's connexion with Lugudunum may be derived from a chronological consideration. The senate's decree by which Munatius Plancus was empowered to constitute Lugudunum as a municipium was not issued until after the battle of Mutina¹⁵ (end of April, 43). In the ensuing two months Plancus could not possibly have executed the commission, as during this period he was demonstrably engaged in other business at a distance from Lugudunum.¹⁶ In the course of June he placed himself under the *imperium* of Antony, and even if at a later period of the year he took a share in the foundation of the town he did so only as an agent of his new chief.¹⁷ The conclusion, therefore, is that Antony became the official founder of Lugudunum, and ranked not merely as its *municeps* but as its *patronus*.¹⁸

If this argument be admitted, the symbol XL may be regarded as an attempt to chronicle the establishment of

¹⁵ In the preamble of its despatch the Senate mentioned that it had no further need of the services of Plancus (and Lepidus)—Dio Cassius, 45. 50. This assertion is absolutely contrary to the complaisant tone of the republicans in dealing with Plancus before the battle of Mutina.

¹⁶ Cicero, *Ad Familiares*, x. 9, 11, 15, 17, 18, 21, 23, 24.

¹⁷ A. de Boissieu, *Inscriptions antiques de Lyon*, p. 125 sqq. The fact that Plancus settled a body of colonists at Lugudunum is attested beyond dispute by *C. I. L.*, x. 6087. But the organization of Lugudunum as a *colonia* may have been subsequent to its establishment as a *municipium*. Indeed the balance of evidence is in favour of this assumption. For (a) *C. I. L.*, x. 6087, mentions the colonization of Lugudunum by Plancus subsequently to his land distribution at Beneventum (after the battle of Actium), and conjointly with his foundation of Rafrica, which is proved by its modern name "Augst," to have carried the title "Augusta," and therefore cannot be dated back beyond 27 B.C. (b) Seneca, *Ep.*, xel. 14, alludes to a conflagration at Lugudunum as having occurred a hundred years after the colonization of the town. As the fire took place in all probability during A.D. 64 (Tacitus, *Ann.*, xvi. 13; Hilgenfeld in *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, Supplement 17, pp. 667-676), the colonization of Lugudunum cannot be referred to 43 B.C.

¹⁸ The connexion between the numeral XL and Antony's presence at Lyon in 43 B.C. is also noted by Grueber, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 394, n. 3.

the town by reference to the years of life of its *patronus*. This method of dating by personal eras was notoriously common in post-Alexandrine Greece; and a close parallel to the present case is provided by a coin of Nemausus, which commemorates a visit of Augustus in 16 B.C., with an inscription $\text{L}\Delta$, denoting the 14th year of Augustus' rule as computed from 31 or 30 B.C.¹⁹ Except that the symbol $\text{L}\Delta$ indicates a regnal year and XL a natal one—a difference due to Augustus in 16 B.C. being already regarded by the provincials as a monarch, whereas Antony in the summer of 43 B.C. merely possessed a somewhat doubtful "imperium" of the ordinary republican character—the analogy between the two numerals is complete: the device in either case was intended as a subtle compliment by which the history of the city was connected with that of its patron.

The coin inscribed XL may perfectly well be explained by the "birthday" hypothesis, for in the early months of 42 B.C. Antony would have been in a position to issue a donative currency. At the same time it is equally possible to regard it as a lineal successor of the coin marked XL . The subsequent discontinuance of this

¹⁹ A. v. Sallet, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 1885, pp. 376-381; O. Hirschfeld, *Wiener Studien*, 1883, pp. 319-322. The interpretation of the sign $\text{L}\Delta$ as a numeral has been called into dispute, but Hirschfeld has satisfied himself by autopsy that his view is the correct one. The indistinctness of the lettering is simply due to the general roughness of execution of the coin. Those who maintain that the forms $\text{L}\Delta$ are merely a decorative pattern are bound to explain why this piece of meaningless decoration has been specially inset in a reserved space on a prominent part of the coin.

The era on this coin is not a Roman but an Egyptian one. This singularity, as well as the crocodile and papyrus of the reverse type, has been felicitously explained by Hirschfeld by the suggestion that the colonists of Nemausus were Egyptian or Egyptianized soldiers formerly in the service of Antony.

series was no doubt due to the transference of Gaul from the imperium of Antony to that of his rival Octavian by the treaty of Brundisium (40 B.C.).

ADDITIONAL NOTE.—Mr. Grueber has kindly suggested to me that the era denoted by the mark Δ on the coin of Nemausus is derived, not from the investment of Augustus with the kingship of Egypt, but from the battle of Actium. This explanation is certainly more simple than that of Hirschfeld; and the analogy thus established with the mark XL on Antony's coin becomes still more complete, as Augustus' era no less than Antony's now acquires an unofficial character.

M. CASPARI.

VII.

COINAGES OF THE TRIUMVIRS, ANTONY, LEPIDUS, AND OCTAVIAN, ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE HISTORY OF THE TIMES.

(See Plates VIII and IX.)

IN selecting this particular period of the coinage of Rome for the subject of this paper, I have been induced to do so because by no other series of coins is the development and extension of the Early Roman Empire more fully and vividly illustrated. The coins, which are chiefly of gold and silver, the aureus and the denarius, are in their types commemorative of most of the principal events of those stirring times, and they form a long series of contemporary records. In fact, they take the place of medals of more recent date. I shall take the coins in their chronological order, prefacing each issue by a few historical remarks, avoiding detail so far as possible.

It was on the Ides or 15th March, 44 B.C., that Rome witnessed one of the greatest tragedies in her history. Caesar, the Conqueror, the Dictator, was assassinated by those whom he had deemed his nearest and most trusty friends. Till within a few months of his death Caesar had spent his life in the battle-field. There was no part of the Empire which had not been the scene of his great military genius, and only recently by his victories

in Spain, Greece, and Africa had he broken up and humbled the Pompeians. He was now able to turn his attention to the internal regulation of the State. The evils which he endeavoured to remedy were of old standing, and his active engagement in all political matters from early youth made him familiar with every weak point and with all the proposed remedies. Scarcely had he entered on this task than he fell under the daggers of the assassins. It is not necessary to depict the consternation which prevailed in the capital. Amidst all the turmoil and confusion there was one who maintained a comparative calm. This was Mark Antony, Caesar's colleague in the consulship for the year. He had a difficult part to play. Was he to take sides with the conspirators, or was he to play a more subtle game and obtain for himself a position which his colleague had occupied? The latter policy prevailed, and his first act was to come to terms with the Senate. Having obtained from Calpurnia, Caesar's wife, the papers of her husband, Antony induced that body to recognize the Acts of the Dictator and to accept a number of laws which he alleged were amongst Caesar's papers, and which already bore his signature. The Dictator's will was immediately made public, and by his oration over the body of Caesar, Antony so raised the feelings of the populace against the murderers that they were compelled to withdraw from the city. Antony was now the most prominent man in the State, and he seemed likely to obtain the position which Caesar had occupied.

Of this circumstance we possess some numismatic evidence in a denarius, which must have been extensively struck, as even at the present time it is not of any particular rarity. It shows on the obverse the veiled

head of Antony as angur with the symbols of his office, the lituus and the one-handled jug (the *capis*), and on the reverse a horseman (*desultor*) with two horses [Pl. VIII. 1]. This coin was issued by the moneyer or triumvir of the Mint, P. Sepullius Macer, who but a few weeks before had struck another piece with the same reverse type, but having on the obverse the portrait of Julius Caesar. This type was intended to commemorate the numerous spectacles with which the latter had recently entertained the people. It was also earlier in the year that the Senate ordered that the portrait of Caesar should be placed on the coinage: so we know the precise date and also month of the issue of this coin of Antony. I shall refer later to the subject of portraiture on the Roman coinage.

A new and unexpected actor now appeared on the scene in the person of the young Octavius, the adopted son and great-nephew of the Dictator. He was in Illyricum, to which province Caesar had sent him to combine the study of the arts and arms, when he heard of the murder of his great-uncle. At first Octavius hesitated what course to take, but urged on by his friend Agrippa, he proceeded to Italy, and on his arrival he heard of his adoption into the gens Julia, and of his being the heir of Caesar. At Brundisium he was saluted by his soldiers as Caesar, and armed with copies of his uncle's will, and the decrees of the Senate, he boldly assumed the designation of Caius Julius Caesar Octavianus. At the beginning of May, Octavian, as we shall now call him, arrived in Rome and demanded nothing but the private property which Caesar had left him, but at the same time he declared that he was resolved to avenge the murder of his benefactor. Antony, who had in his

possession the money and papers of Caesar, refused to give them up, but Octavian, having declared in the usual way before the praetor that he accepted the inheritance, and having promised to give to the people a portion of his uncle's property, which had been bequeathed to them by will, ultimately prevailed, and thus won not only the favour of the people but also the good-will of the Senate. An open breach between Antony and Octavian was now inevitable, and each one took steps to establish his position by an appeal to military force. Antony went to Brundisium to take command of the legions which had arrived from Greece, and Octavian began collecting an army in Campania. The struggle was, however, not to take place in the neighbourhood of Rome, but at Mutina in Cisalpine Gaul, which province had been given by Caesar in the previous year to Decimus Brutus, but which Antony had since persuaded the Senate to hand over to him. Finding that his popularity in the Senate was on the wane, Antony towards the end of November proceeded to Cisalpine Gaul and laid siege to Mutina, where Decimus Brutus had taken refuge. At Rome Antony was declared a public enemy, and the Senate having determined to support the cause of Brutus, the conduct of the war was entrusted to the young Octavian and the consuls Hirtius and Pansa. This was early in 43 B.C. Several battles were fought with varied success, till at length in the engagement of the 27th April, known as the battle of Mutina, Antony was completely defeated. His position was now alarming and almost desperate, as Lepidus, who was Governor of Gallia Narbonensis, had not declared which party he was inclined to support. Antony, however, played the rôle of flatterer with success, and the

two generals met with all their forces near Forum Julia, 27th May, 43 B.C. They were now able not only to defend their position, but if necessary to prosecute the war with greater vigour than ever.

This union of Antony and Lepidus is commemorated by some interesting coins struck by the former in the newly founded city of Lugdunum, which he made his headquarters. They consist of denarii and quinarii, *i.e.* half-denarii [Pl. VIII. 2]. They have on the obverse the name of Antony, which is accompanied by the attributes of the augurship and a raven; and on the reverse the name of Lepidus and the emblems of the pontificate, of which Lepidus had been elected chief, Pontifex Maximus, on the death of Caesar. The presence of the raven has not been satisfactorily explained, but as it is accompanied by the lituus it must refer to the auguries. The fact that the bird is placed on the right shows that the omen was favourable. There is no hesitation in assigning these coins to Lugdunum as there exist similar pieces of the time bearing the name of that city, and others bearing also the name of Antony.

Whilst this was happening in Gaul, Octavian was shaping his future course of action in Italy. Both the consuls Hirtius and Pansa having fallen at Mutina, Octavian determined to obtain the consulship for himself, and with that purpose he set out with his army to the capital, where he had encountered some opposition from Cicero. Nothing daunted he arrived in Rome at the head of his legions, and the Senate having no troops to oppose him could offer no resistance, and on the 19th August, 43 B.C., Octavian with his cousin Q. Pedius entered upon the consulship. The obsequious Senate now proceeded to heap honours upon him. The *Læ*

Curiata for his adoption under Caesar's will was at once passed, and he was now by right as well as by courtesy a Caesar.¹ He was to have money to pay the promised bounties, to enjoy an imperium when with an army superior to the consuls, to do what was necessary for the protection of the city, and to take over the army lately assigned to Decimus Brutus. His colleague Pedius at the same time proposed a law by which the murderers of Caesar were punished with *aquae et ignis interdictio*, that is, with outlawry.

The events just mentioned did not pass without some numismatic record. Velleius Paterculus (ii. 61) tells us that amongst the honours paid to Octavian on his return from the siege of Mutina was the erection of an equestrian statue of him which was placed on the Rostra in the Forum. This statue is shown on a gold coin having on the obverse the portrait of Octavian, and on the reverse an equestrian figure of Octavian holding in his right hand a lituus; below is represented a rostrum or prow accompanied by the letters S.C. (*Senatus consulto*) [Pl. VIII. 3]. This inscription at once identifies it as having been erected by order of the Senate. Till recently this coin, on account of the presence of the rostrum, was supposed to relate to the battle of Actium, and it was held that the equestrian figure was not of Octavian, but that it represented Eutyches and his ass Nikon, whom Octavian met on the morning of the battle of Actium. Octavian addressed the man and asked him who he was, and he replied, "I am Eutyches, and this is my ass Nikon." Octavian considered this meeting a happy omen, and after the battle he caused a statue of Eutyches and his ass to be erected on the spot where they had

¹ E. S. Schuckburgh, *Augustus*, p. 68.

met. This identification, however, cannot be accepted, because Octavian on this coin is represented with a beard, which he did not wear after the battle of Naulochus, in 36 B.C., when Sextus Pompey, the last of the Pompeians, was driven from Sicily. It is, however, possible that this coin was not struck till somewhat after the event which it records, as it was probably issued at Lugdunum after Octavian had received the government of Gallia Transalpina. Though it may not be contemporary, it, however, records the event which we have mentioned.

Octavian remained in Rome only a short time, just to see his measures carried out, and leaving the city under the care of his colleague Pedius, he proceeded north with the professed object of destroying Decimus Brutus, who under the *lex Pedia* was now a condemned man. His real purpose, however, was to come to an understanding with Antony. Communications passed between them, and it was arranged that Antony should crush Decimus Brutus, and that Pedius should get the Senate to rescind the decrees which declared Antony and Lepidus "enemies of the State." The plans were successful. Decimus Brutus, deserted by his troops, attempted to escape to Macedon to join his brother Marcus, but he was betrayed by the Gaulish chief Camillus, on whom he had formerly conferred many favours, and by order of Antony he was put to death. Antony then continued his march as though to attack Octavian. The real intention, however, on both sides was to come to terms, and in November, 43 B.C., on an island in a tributary of the Po, between Mutina and Bononia, the three leaders, Antony, Lepidus, and Octavian, met in conference. The result of the conclave is thus recounted by Appian (*Bell. Civ.*, iv. 2, 3): "They were in conference from morning till night for two days,

and came to this decision : that Octavian should resign the consulship, and that Ventidius should take it for the remainder of the year ; that a new magistracy for quieting the civil dissensions should be created by law, which Lepidus, Antony, and Octavian should hold for five years with consular power with the title of *triumviri*, or *tresviri, reipublicae constituendae* (for this title seemed preferable to that of dictator, perhaps because of Antony's decree abolishing the dictatorship); that these three should at once designate the yearly magistrates of the city for five years; that a distribution of the provinces should be made, giving to Antony the whole of Gaul except the part bordering the Pyrenees, which was called Old Gaul. The latter, together with Spain, was assigned to Lepidus, while Octavian was to have Africa, Sardinia, and Sicily, and the other islands in the vicinity.

"Thus was the dominion of the Romans divided by the triumvirate amongst themselves. The assignment of the parts beyond the Adriatic only was postponed, since they were still under the government of Brutus and Cassius, against whom Antony and Octavian were to wage war. Lepidus was to be consul the following year and to remain in Rome to do what was needful there, meanwhile governing Spain by proxy."

By this arrangement it will be noticed that no mention is made of Italy, as it was decided that it should remain neutral ground as being the centre of liberty. Further, Octavian undertook to put down Sextus Pompey, who had possessed himself of Sicily. The triumvirate was practically a dictatorship in commission; their *acta* were to be authoritative; they were to be independent of the Senate, superior to all magistrates, and to have the right of proposing laws in the *Comitia*. Such a procedure was

without parallel in history, and the terms of the agreement were received with consternation in the capital; but deprived of the army the Senate had again to give way.

To commemorate the formation of the triumvirate, and no doubt to instil its importance into the minds of the populace, and more especially of the army, Antony caused to be struck at Lugdunum, which was soon to become the chief city of Transalpine Gaul, a series of gold coins, aurei, bearing his portrait and those of his colleagues. There were two separate issues, one with his own portrait and that of Lepidus [Pl. VIII. 4], the other also with his portrait and that of Octavian [Pl. VIII. 5]. This circumstance shows that the coins were issued under the orders of Antony, as there are no specimens which give a combination of the portraits of Lepidus and Octavian. On these coins each triumvir is given his so-called official title in an abbreviated form, that is, III VIR R. P. C. (*Triumvir reipublicae constituendae*). The portraits cannot be said to be a work of art; but this is to be accounted for by the circumstance that the coins were struck in a province where skilful die-engravers were not obtainable. Moreover, as already mentioned, the city of Lugdunum, where the coins were issued, was of recent foundation, and at the time must have covered a limited area.

It is probable that two points in connexion with this local money may appear to be somewhat extraordinary: one that we should have under a republic coinages issued by generals without any apparent official stamp; the other that some of the coins should bear portraits of living men, an honour which is usually associated with supreme kingly power. I shall therefore interrupt my narrative to recount how this came about.

First of all as to the right or power to issue such coins. To explain this I must go back to earlier days.

A few years after Rome had instituted her silver coinage in the capital, which was in 268 B.C., she established local issues of coins of the same metals, types, and standards. This was done to relieve the pressure on the Central Mint, and also to provide on the spot her legions with the necessary supply of money for their pay. It was of the nature of a military coinage. These local issues were of two classes: one struck at various cities under Roman suzerainty, such as Luceria, Beneventum, Canusium, Hatria, Vibo, Croton, Capua, &c.; the other by moneyers, who under the control of the central Mint performed their duties at the various military centres. The city mints did not last long, for they came to an end soon after the Second Punic War, c. 200 B.C. The coinages of the local moneyers, however, continued down to the early years of the first century B.C., when they were put an end to by the passing of the *Lex Julia de civitate sociis et Latinis danda* in 90 B.C., and the *Lex Plautia Papiria de civitate sociis danda* in the following year, which granted the rights and privileges of citizenship to all the Italian States. These laws had the effect of suppressing all issues of coins in Italy outside Rome. The policy to be pursued by Rome was to consolidate her dominion and to centralize her control, and in order to carry out this policy it would appear that one of her first acts was to abolish all independent coinages throughout Italy, and so to put an end to separate and independent action.²

During the continuation of these local issues the supply of money was sufficient to provide for the payment of

² *Cat. Roman Coins, Brit. Mus.*, vol. ii. p. 144.

the armies which were stationed in the provinces, but when they were abolished the strain became so great on the Central Mint that the Senate was compelled to discover some mode of relief. A way out of the difficulty was found by investing the generals in command of armies with the power or *imperium* of striking money. This they could do in their own names, or they could delegate the authority to a subordinate officer, such as a legate, a quaestor, a proquaestor, or some other person of military rank.

This provincial money was instituted simultaneously in the three principal divisions of the Empire, Spain, Gaul, and the East, the latter including Greece and Asia Minor. In Spain we have the coinages of the proconsul, C. Annius Luscus, Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius, and Pompey the Great, all of whom commanded in the Sertorian war. In Gaul the only coinage is that of the emperor, C. Valerius Flaccus, and in the East we have those of Sulla and his quaestors, Lucius and Aulus Manlius. These coinages were instituted simultaneously in 82 B.C.

At first this right of striking money was but little exercised by the commanders, and it was not until the outbreak of the Civil War between Pompey and Caesar that the provincial issues became general. Caesar was the first to revive them in Gaul in 50 B.C., and his example was quickly followed by the Pompeian leaders in Spain and the East; so that we have a series of coins which commemorate the chief events in the provinces from 49 B.C. to the death of Julius Caesar. The generals now looked upon the privilege of coinage as a prescribed right, and it was in virtue of this authority that Antony began to strike money for the payment of his soldiers so

soon as he arrived in Gaul after his failure at Mutina. His example was followed throughout the provinces, East and West, down at least till the time of the close of the triumvirate, not only by the triumvirs themselves and by their own generals, but also by those who were opposed to them. It is this circumstance that makes the coinages of the period of the triumvirate so interesting, as they illustrate most of the chief events of the time.

I will now briefly refer to the question of portraiture. The type of the obverse of the denarius, which was the unit of the silver coinage of Rome, was a head, male or female. At first the head depicted was that of Roma wearing a winged helmet. This type remained unchanged for over 150 years, and the first break in its continuity occurred on some denarii struck in 100 B.C. by the quaestors L. Calpurnius Piso and Q. Servilius Caepio. The obverse of these coins shows the head of Saturn and the reverse the two quaestors seated. This coinage was a special one struck to provide for a largess of corn; and as the precise date of its issue is known, we can fix this first change of the obverse type to the actual year of its occurrence.¹ In spite of this sudden encroachment the head of Roma still remained the prevailing obverse type, but soon, like that of the reverse, it had to give way to frequent changes, and we meet with those of various divinities: Pietas, Vulcan, Saturn, Mars, Juno, Minerva, Hercules, and others. A little later, that is, after c. 80 B.C., some of the moneyers who were members of the patrician families went one step further, and extolled the antiquity of their descent by supplying imaginary portraits of their supposed ancestors. We

¹ *Cat. Roman Coins, Brit. Mus.*, vol. i. p. 170, pl. xxix, 12.

therefore meet with the heads of Numa Pompilius and Ancus Marcius on coins of the Marcia gens; of Romulus on coins of the Memmii; and of Fontus, the son of Janus, on those of the Fonteia gens. The moneyers were, however, not long content to seek subjects for illustration of so early a period; and they proceeded to figure their less remote ancestors, who had won glory in the service of their country. As examples may be mentioned the portraits of Cornelius Scipio Africanus the Elder, of Servius Sulpicius Rufus, famous for his relief of Tusculum, and of M. Claudius Marcellus, the most illustrious of the Marcelli, who was consul five times. Of a still more recent date are the portraits of C. Coelius Caldus, Sulla, C. Antius Restio, Q. Postumius Albinus, which are figured by their sons and grandsons; but amongst all these types no portrait was given of a living person who was contemporary with the issue of the coin. These are historical memorials and do not affect to be true portraiture.

The sanctity of the obverse had thus been secularized, and it needed only one step further to bring the designs on both faces of the coin into line, the reverse types having for some time often recorded contemporary events. This step was accomplished in 44 B.C., when the Senate ordered that the portrait or effigy of Caesar should be placed on the coinage. Caesar was now to occupy a place which had hitherto been reserved for divinities or for the great heroes of the past.⁴

As this is the first instance of the portrait of a living personage and of one who effected so much in the future destiny of Rome, one example out of many may be cited. The obverse of the coin, a denarius, struck by the

⁴ Macdonald, *Coin Types*, p. 193.

moneyer L. Aemilius Buca, gives the laureate head of Caesar, and on the reverse the caduceus, the fasces, and the celestial globe are symbolical of Caesar's universal power; and the united hands may typify the cordial and peaceful feeling between himself and the Roman people [Pl. VIII. 6]. The celestial globe may also record Caesar's reformation of the Calendar. The portrait as given on the coin corresponds closely with the appearance of Caesar as described by Suetonius (*Caesar*, 45). "He was tall, of a fair complexion, round-limbed, somewhat full-faced, with eyes black and lively. His baldness gave him a great deal of uneasiness, having often found himself upon that account exposed to the ridicule of his enemies, and therefore he used to bring his hair from the crown of his head forward. And of all the honours conferred upon him by the Senate and the people, he accepted or made use of none more gladly than the right of perpetually wearing a crown." The portrait on this coin clearly shows the hair drawn forward from the crown to the forehead.

"What may have been the actual intention of the Senate in granting this exceptional honour to Caesar is a little uncertain. Was it a mark of royalty or divinity, or of perpetual imperatorship? Dio (xliv. 4) in enumerating the honours which the Senate had heaped upon the Dictator divides them into three groups: the first, those which assured to him in perpetuity the military imperatorship, the title of Dictator, and the honours of a triumph; secondly, those which conferred on him the censorship for life and the inviolability of his tribunician power; and thirdly, those which invested him with the outward signs of royalty which hitherto had not been accorded to any Roman citizen. As the right of placing

his effigy on the coinage was included in the first group of honours and not in the last, it was a formal recognition of Caesar's position as the chief personage in the State, not in the sense so much of *Βασιλεὺς* as of *Imperator* and *Dictator*. This seems to explain itself by the fact that within a few months of the death of Caesar the veiled head of Antony in his capacity of Augur was placed on the coins. It may be presumed that this could only have been done under a special order of the Senate, which could not have been intended to confer on Antony any regal or divine distinction, but only to signify that he was capable of taking over the guidance of public affairs at a critical moment. Within a few weeks of receiving this honour Antony was declared the enemy of the Republic."⁵

It is therefore not surprising, when we consider the power which the triumvirs had arrogated to themselves, that Antony should have gone one step further and placed his effigy and those of his colleagues on his coins. This act henceforth was not confined to those who undertook the task of avenging the dead Caesar, and who might in some sense be looked upon as his political heirs, but it was participated in also by those of the republican party who had directly or indirectly compassed his death. Amongst these were Sextus Pompey, Labienus, and Brutus himself.

I have thought it well to say a few words on these two special characteristics of the coinage of this period as it will be better understood what took place during the following years of the triumvirate in the provinces both East and West. I will now resume my account of the historical nature of the coins and their types.

⁵ *Cat. Roman Coins, Brit. Mus.*, vol. i. Introd. p. xcv.

After dividing the government of the Roman State amongst themselves the next step of the triumvirs was to proceed to Rome in order to obtain a recognition of their assumed powers. Octavian was the first to arrive, and he was quickly followed by Antony and Lepidus. The way had to be cleared, and for that purpose the triumvirs determined to destroy their enemies, and if possible to stamp out the republican party. Rome now witnessed a repetition of all the horrors of the Sullan and Marian massacres after an interval of fifty years. The proscriptions were begun before the triumvirs entered Rome, and according to Appian the names of no less than three hundred senators and about two thousand equites were placed upon the list; but many escaped and found a refuge with Sextus Pompey in Sicily, with Brutus in Macedon, and with Cassius in Syria. We need not dwell on those terrible scenes with which the names of some of the most illustrious Roman citizens are associated. The triumvirs did not spare their own relatives: Lepidus placed his brother Paulus on the list; Antony his uncle, Lucius Caesar; and Octavian conceded to Antony the inclusion of Cicero. The Senate looked on in horror, and the triumvirs must soon have repented their action. It is scarcely necessary to say that of these events there is no numismatic record.

"The first task of the triumvirs after securing their power at Rome was the restoration of unity and peace to the Empire, which was now threatened at two points; Brutus and Cassius were in arms in the East and Sextus Pompey in the West."⁶ The opposition of Brutus and Cassius seemed to be the more formidable of the two. It was therefore decided that Antony should at once

⁶ Schuckburgh, *Augustus*, p. 79.

proceed to Greece; that Octavian should be entrusted with the task of crushing Pompey, and when that was effected he was to join Antony; and that Lepidus, who had been appointed consul for the year 42 B.C., should remain in Rome.

After the defeat of his brother Cnaeus at Munda in March, 45 B.C., Sextus Pompey took refuge in the North of Spain, where for some time he maintained a guerilla war against the generals of Caesar. On Caesar's death a reconciliation was brought about with Lepidus, who was then governor of Hither Spain and Narbonese Gaul, and it was arranged that Pompey should receive his patrimonial inheritance. On the proposition of Cicero, Pompey was appointed by the Senate commander of the naval forces of the Republic. The first part of the arrangement was never carried out, as Antony had seized upon the estates of Pompey's father and refused to give them up. To get out of this difficulty Sextus was placed under the ban of the *lex Pedia*, and thus included amongst the murderers of the Dictator, though he was in Spain at the time. Taking refuge on his fleet, Sextus cruised about for some time plundering the coasts of Italy, and the number of his followers having been increased by those who had been proscribed, together with a multitude of slaves, he soon found himself strong enough to take possession of Sicily, which he then made his headquarters. Aided by Quintus Cornificius, who was governor of Africa, Sextus continued his attacks on the coasts of Italy and on the corn-ships, so that Rome was in danger of being deprived of all her supplies. The task of dislodging Sextus was entrusted to Octavian, but the undertaking was not so easy as it was anticipated.

For this service a fleet of galleys was equipped in the ports of Ostia and Misenum, and Q. Salvidienus Rufus, whom Octavian had placed in command, was ordered to engage the flotilla which Sextus had mustered. The latter's vessels were light, and proved more manageable in the shifting straits of Messina where the fleets met, than the heavier barks which were brought against him. Salvidienus was in consequence compelled to withdraw with the loss of the greater part of his fleet, which included also his stores. Octavian, who had come to the extreme point of the Bruttian peninsula with an army to support the naval operations, finding that his means of transport were cut off, broke up his camp, and under the excuse that he had been summoned to Antony's assistance in the East, directed his march to Brundisium.

The collapse of the attack of Octavian filled the hearts of the Pompeians with joy. They proclaimed Pompey *Imperator* for the second time, and bestowed on him the title of "Son of Neptune." To record his success Pompey issued some coins in gold and silver, aurei and denarii. On the gold coins he depicts his own portrait and those of his father Pompey the Great and his brother Cnaeus [PL. VIII. 7]. These coins are of special interest, as they supply the only identified portraits of Sextus and Cnaeus Pompey. That of Sextus is the most striking. It shows a large round head with a slightly retreating forehead and a prominent brow. The hair is thick, smooth but arranged in rolls, and the beard short and curly, and covering the cheek. It is in strong contrast to that of his brother with his high arched skull, wig-like hair, slightly aquiline nose, and sparse beard covering only the lower part of the cheek.

From their portraits the two brothers must have been of quite different characters; the one though rough and uncultured yet resolute and determined; the other weak and vacillating. Velleius Paterculus (Lib. ii. 73) thus sums up the character of Sextus: "He was quite uncultured, barbarous in his speech, strenuous in action, prompt with his hand, quick in thought, wanting in the good faith of his father, a servant of his own servants, and a slave of his own slaves." The portrait of his father is that usually found on coins of this period. It is not a very striking one, and scarcely conveys the impression of one who was so great a soldier and of such a dominant character.

The silver coins display on the obverse the head of Sextus Pompey's father, and on the reverse he is himself typified as Neptune, a reference to the title given him of "Son of Neptune," holding in his right hand an *aplustre* or ornament which decorated the poop of a vessel, and standing between the Catanean brothers, bearing their parents on their shoulders, *sudantes venerando pondere* [Pl. VIII. 8]. These figures may either refer to the title of Pius which Sextus had assumed, or they may show that the coins were struck at Catana, the type occurring on autonomous coins of that city.

We must now change our venue and see what was going on in the East. After the death of Caesar, Brutus and Cassius remained in Italy for some months; but finding the populace under the influence of Antony daily assuming a hostile attitude, they determined to proceed to the provinces which had been assigned to them; Brutus to Macedonia, and Cassius to Syria. Brutus first went to Athens, where he learnt that the Senate had given over his province to Antony, who

in turn transferred it to his brother Caius Antony. Without delay Brutus collected an army, mostly remnants of the troops of Pompey the Great, and marched into Macedonia. From there he proceeded to Illyricum, where he increased his forces and encountered Caius Antony, who, being unable to advance beyond the sea-coast, had taken up a position at Apollonia. Here Caius was besieged by Brutus, who soon compelled him to surrender. He was kept prisoner for a short time, but was put to death chiefly at the instigation of Hortensius to revenge the murder of Cicero. Brutus now proceeded to Thrace, and attacked the tribes in order to obtain money for himself and booty for his soldiers. That he was successful we shall see from numismatic evidence. After that expedition Brutus crossed over to Asia Minor in order to join Cassius, and to continue his acts of plundering in other districts.

These events in Greece, of which we have but scanty documentary records, are well illustrated by the coinage.

The first coin, a denarius, of this series is that issued by Caius Antony on his arrival in Illyricum. On the obverse is shown a male head wearing a broad-brimmed cap (*kausia*), which is emblematic of Macedonia, as it occurs frequently on the autonomous coins of that district, and on the reverse the pontifical emblems, a record of Antony's election to the college of pontiffs [PL. VIII. 9]. In placing this head on his coins it is evident that Caius Antony anticipated his governorship of Macedonia, which he was not destined to realize. The coins struck by Brutus are numerous and varied in their types. I am therefore compelled to select three only of the more important ones for illustration. Immediately after the capture of Apollonia, Brutus issued denarii having on the

obverse the head of Libertas and on the reverse a lyre between a plectrum and a laurel-branch [Pl. VIII. 10]. The obverse illustrates the democratic principles of Brutus, and is in accordance with the spirit of the speech, which he made to his troops on the eve of the battle of Philippi, when he exhorted his soldiers to keep before their eyes, "Liberty, the Republic, and the destruction of Tyranny and Despotism." The reverse type of the lyre with the plectrum is a copy of the autonomous silver coins of Apollonia; so no doubt exists as to the place of mintage of these coins.

Of his raid in Thrace there is a record in the form of some aurei of rude design and workmanship. These show on the obverse the consul Lucius Junius Brutus walking between two lictors with the legend ΚΟΣΩΝ and a monogram R for Brutus, and on the reverse an eagle holding a wreath in its claw and trampling on a sceptre [Pl. VIII. 11]. The obverse refers to the expulsion of the Kings of Rome by the ancestor of Brutus, and the reverse is probably emblematic of the domination of Rome in the province under his administration, and his determination to stamp out any attempt to establish despotism in the State. The legend ΚΟΣΩΝ still needs a satisfactory explanation. It has been suggested that it is the name of a Thracian prince, who had been killed by his own subjects, and whose widow, Polemocratia, fearing lest her son Cotys should share a similar fate, brought him to Brutus and sought his protection. At the same time she placed at his disposal her husband's treasures, amongst which was an unexpected amount of gold and silver bullion, from which these coins were struck. As the name of the husband of Polemocratia was Sadala not Koson, it has been further suggested that

these coins were struck at Cossea in Thrace.⁷ It was also at this time that Brutus caused to be issued one of the most interesting pieces of this epoch. On the obverse is his own portrait, bare and with a slight beard, and around the legend BRVT. IMP. (*Brutus Imperator*), L. PLAET. CEST. (*L. Plaetorius Cestus*); and on the reverse the cap of Liberty between two daggers with the legend EID. MAR. (*Eidibus Martiis*) [Pl. VIII. 12]. It need scarcely be mentioned that the reverse type relates to the murder of Caesar. On the eve of the first battle of Philippi, Brutus, addressing Cassius, said, "On the Ides of March I devoted my life to my country, and since then I have lived in liberty and glory." Dio (xlvi. 25) makes special mention of this coin, for after recounting the victories of Brutus in Thrace and Macedon, he adds, "These were the exploits of Brutus; besides, he struck coins on which were represented a *pileus* and two daggers to show by this design and also by the inscription that he had in concert with Cassius given liberty to his country." These are but three illustrations of more than a dozen examples of coins struck by Brutus or his generals in Macedonia.⁸

I must now take you into Asia and briefly follow the progress of Cassius. On his arrival there he received the support of the pro-consul Lucius Trebonius, and having, like Brutus, increased his army from the remnants of the Pompeian legions, he attacked Dolabella, who

⁷ Head, *Hist. Num.*, 2nd ed. p. 289, is of opinion that "Coson" was the name of a Scythian king, who copied the reverse type of a denarius which Brutus struck some years before as triumvir of the mint at Rome (*Cat. Roman Coins, Brit. Mus.*, vol. i. p. 479), and that the monogram R stands not for L. BR(utus) but for OAB (= Olbia), which he says was the place of mintage where the eagle occurs as a coin-type. This suggestion, however, seems improbable.

⁸ See *Cat. Roman Coins, Brit. Mus.*, vol. ii. pp. 472-480.

had taken refuge in Laodiceia. The city was betrayed to Cassius, and Dolabella, in order not to fall into the hands of his enemies, commanded one of his soldiers to put him to death. Cassius now proposed to march against Cleopatra in Egypt, but the formation of the Triumvirate and the arrival of Brutus caused him to change his mind. The two leaders met at Smyrna. Brutus was anxious to return at once to Macedonia; but Cassius thought it best to put down all their enemies in Asia, collect as much booty as possible, and with their united forces to meet the triumvirs in Greece. Having decided upon this course Brutus proceeded to Lycia and Cassius against Rhodes. After a severe naval action Cassius obtained possession of the island by treachery, executed a number of the leading inhabitants, and plundered them so unmercifully that the booty obtained is said to have amounted to 8500 talents. Brutus was equally successful in Lycia. He first attacked Xanthus, which surrendered after a severe struggle. This was followed by the capture of the towns of Patera and Andriace, the seaport of the Myraeans, who soon had to deliver up their chief city. Loaded with booty the two generals met at Sardes, where they were acclaimed *Imperators* by their armies. Here they had some serious differences, and they nearly came to an open rupture; but the common danger with which they were threatened produced a reconciliation, and uniting their forces they set out for Greece to meet the armies of Antony and Octavian. It was at Philippi that their fate was decided. In the first engagement Cassius's army was driven back, and in his despair he committed suicide. In the second battle Brutus shared the same ill fortune, and perished in a similar manner.

As in the case of the campaign in Macedonia, the numismatic records of those in Syria and Lycia are numerous. We must therefore again limit our selection. The coins which commemorate the defeat of the Rhodian fleet and the subsequent capture of the island, may be classed amongst the most interesting pieces of the time. These are of gold and silver. On the obverse of an aureus is the head of Libertas with the name of Cassius. This design is symbolical of the political views of the commander. On the reverse is an aplustre, the branches terminating in roses, an appropriate allusion to the island of Rhodes, whose special symbol was the full-blown rose [Pl. VIII. 13]. There are also denarii of the same types. But the interest of these coins is surpassed by others which show on the reverse a crab holding an aplustre in its claws; and below a loose regal diadem and a rose [Pl. VIII. 14]. These coins, which are full of incident, were struck by a legate of Cassius, Marcus Servilius. The aplustre, as we have seen, is symbolical of naval victory. The crab is the symbol of Cos, and is a well-known coin-type of that island. It was within the territorial waters of Cos that the Roman and Rhodian fleets met, and the crab in consequence is represented as holding within its grasp the fate of the contending parties, and the right of granting victory. The loose diadem recalls the circumstance that when Cassius after his victory entered the city of Rhodes, the terror-stricken inhabitants saluted him with the title of King and Lord; but he contemptuously answered that he was neither their king nor their lord, but one who had chastised and slain such, meaning Caesar (Plutarch, *Brutus*, 30). The meeting of Brutus and Cassius is commemorated by other aurei issued by the same legate Servilius. These also

have the head of *Libertas* on the obverse ; but on the reverse a military trophy composed of a cuirass, a crested helmet, a shield, and two spears [Pl. VIII. 15]. As these coins bear only the name of Brutus and not that of Cassius, it is evident that they were struck for distribution specially amongst the troops of the former. Other gold and silver pieces issued by the two generals, or in their names by their quaestors, have for reverse types a tripod recording the sacrifices to Apollo, which Cassius offered to that divinity after his expedition against Rhodes, and sacrificial implements relating to the priestly offices held by Brutus.⁹ Of the battles of Philippi we have no direct numismatic evidence. This may be accounted for in the circumstance that though Antony held the chief command in those engagements he did not wish to extol his own deeds above those of his colleague Octavian.

The effect of these victories was the reunion of the Eastern and Western parts of the Empire, which necessitated a fresh distribution of the spheres of influence of the triumvirs. No general re-division of the provinces was made, except that Antony was to retain Gaul and to receive in addition Africa and Octavian Spain and Numidia. Lepidus, who was still consul, had fallen under the suspicion of his colleagues, as he was supposed to be holding treasonable correspondence with Sextus Pompey. It was, however, agreed that if he was able to clear himself of suspicion, Antony should give up Africa to him. The real governors of the Empire were Antony and Octavian, the former undertaking the administration of the Eastern provinces, whilst the latter was to superintend those of the West. Force of circumstances

⁹ *Cat. Roman Coins, Brit. Mus.*, vol. ii. pp. 480-484.

ordained that this arrangement should continue for the next ten years. To still further strengthen the hands of these two triumvirs, Lucius Antony, the brother of Mark, was nominated consul for the following year, 41 B.C. To commemorate this arrangement Antony caused a series of gold and silver coins to be struck showing his own portrait and those of Octavian and his brother Lucius; that of Antony, as on a former occasion, being placed on the obverse [Pl. IX. 1, 2]. As the portrait of Lepidus does not occur we have strong numismatic evidence of the ban under which he had fallen. The duty of issuing these coins was delegated to three of Antony's quaestors, Marcus Barbatius Philippus, Marcus Cocceius Nerva, and Lucius Gellius Publicola. These coins were probably struck at Athens, where Antony went after Philippi. From this time, with one exception which we shall mention, all the coins which bear the name of Antony were struck in the East and those of Octavian in the West.

In accordance with their arrangement Antony went to Asia Minor to crush the remainder of the Republican party, and to collect money sufficient for the promised rewards to his veterans. His visit to the East is commemorated by denarii with his portrait on the obverse, and the radiate head of Sol on the reverse. Octavian came westwards, where he found that the real control of affairs was being exercised by Fulvia, the wife of Mark Antony, against whom Lepidus had been powerless. Octavian's first business in Rome was the allotment of land to the veterans: a task which Lucius Antony wished to share with him. To this proposal Octavian would not consent. Urged on by Fulvia, Lucius took the part of those who had been evicted or were threatened

with eviction from their lands. This action made Octavian unpopular, especially as some of the lands of the Senators were impounded. An open breach soon became inevitable, and it was hastened by some of the troops of Octavian in the capital, who ordered that the agreement between himself and Mark Antony should be read, and who at once voted its confirmation, naming a day on which Fulvia, Lucius, and Octavian were to appear before them at Gabii. Octavian was present, but Fulvia and Lucius Antony left Rome and proceeded to Cisalpine Gaul. Octavian no longer hesitated, and collecting his army, he marched in pursuit, overtaking the refugees at Perusia, where they resorted for safety. The city was at once besieged, and the blockade lasted throughout the winter till March of the following year, 40 B.C., when Lucius was compelled through hunger to surrender, receiving from his successful opponent more favourable terms than he had expected. Appian (*Bell. Civ.*, v. 42-48) has given an interesting account of the meeting of the two generals: both of whom acted as Roman gentlemen, addressing each other in the politest language, and with a total absence of recrimination. During the siege of Perusia, Lucius Antony struck some gold and silver coins. As Antony was nominal governor of Cisalpine Gaul, Lucius issued the coins in his brother's name, placing on the obverse his portrait and the legend, M. ANTONIVS IMP. III VIR R. P. C. (*Marcus Antonius, Imperator, triumvir reipublicae constituendae*), and on the reverse a figure of Pietas holding a lighted censer and a cornucopiae with the legend PIETAS COS. [Pl. IX. 3]. The reverse type and legend were long a puzzle, as Mark Antony was not then consul: so the legend could not relate to him. It refers, however, to

Lucius, who had assumed the title or cognomen "Pietas" just before the siege of Perusia, in order to signalize his fraternal zeal (Dio, *xlvi*. 5). These coins were, therefore, struck by Lucius Antony for the payment of his soldiers during the siege. Their rather rude design and workmanship clearly indicate that they could not have been struck at Rome, and for that reason they are assigned to Cisalpine Gaul.

Besides these there are denarii issued by P. Ventidius Bassus, who was a general of Mark Antony, and who had been commanded to come from Transalpine Gaul to relieve Perusia. Owing, however, to dissensions between the generals of the relieving army no decided action was taken, and the city was left to its fate. The chief commander Ventidius did not, however, hesitate to strike some coins on which he placed the portrait of Mark Antony and a figure of Jupiter [*Pl. IX. 4*]. The purport of the reverse type has not been satisfactorily explained. Different views have been expressed as to the date when these denarii were struck by Ventidius. Lenormant¹⁰ and others, who include Cavedoni and Babelon, were of opinion that they were issued after the victory of Ventidius over the Parthians at Gindarus in 39 B.C., and Borghesi¹¹ has put them after July, 38 B.C., when Antony took over the command in Syria, that is, some time during the autumn of that year. The great similarity of style and fabric between these coins and those struck by Lucius Antony at the siege of Perusia show that the two issues belong to the same date and to the same locality of striking. There are other points of similarity, viz. in the inscriptions and the portrait of

¹⁰ *La Mon. dans l'antiq.*, vol. ii. p. 151.

¹¹ *Œuvres compl.*, t. ii. p. 63.

Antony. If these coins were struck in the East either in 39 or 38 B.C. they would be of quite different fabric, such pieces being as a rule in higher relief.

After the siege of Perusia Octavian turned his attention to the reorganization of the Gallic provinces, but he did not long remain in that district, and was back again in Rome before the autumn, as he feared a coalition between Antony and Sextus Pompey, the former being urged on by Fulvia, who had gone to Athens after the fall of Perusia. Short as Octavian's sojourn was in Gaul, we have a considerable series of coins bearing his portrait, but the types are not of much historical interest. They, however, establish the fact of his presence. Some of them were struck by Octavian in his name only with his portrait on the obverse and an equestrian statue on the reverse, accompanied by the legend *POPVL IVSSV*, denoting that it was one of those which had been erected by order of the Senate [Pl. IX. 5]. Others have his head and that of Julius Caesar, whilst a third series was struck in his name by Lucius Cornelius Balbus, whom Octavian had appointed *propraetor* in Gaul, and by Q. Salvius Salvidenus Rufus, who after his disaster in Sicily was made governor of Gallia Narbonensis, and in 40 B.C. was *consul designatus*, a circumstance stated on his coins, and which fixes the actual date of their issue.¹²

Antony was in Asia when he heard of the fall of Perusia, but crossing to Athens he met Fulvia, who brought an offer of support from Sextus Pompey against Octavian. Negotiations were opened with Sextus, and Antony left for Italy, made some descents upon the coast, and even threatened Brundisium with a blockade. Another civil war seemed imminent, when the friends

¹² *Cat. Roman Coins, Brit. Mus.*, vol. II. pp. 404-407.

of the triumvirs stepped in and a reconciliation was effected. A conference was held at which Asinius Pollio represented Antony, Maecenas Octavian, whilst Cocceius Nerva attended as a friend of both parties. The two triumvirs embraced, and a new division of the Empire was agreed upon. An imaginary line was to be drawn through Scodra (Scutari) on the Illyrian coast. All west of that line up to the ocean was to be under the care of Octavian, except Africa, which was nominally in the hands of Lepidus; all east was to go to Antony. This was practically a confirmation of the arrangement made after the battles of Philippi. In order to give effect to this compact Antony married Octavia, the sister of Octavian, Fulvia having recently died at Sicyon. To commemorate these events Octavian struck in Gaul coins giving his portrait and that of Antony; and the latter returned the compliment by issuing similar pieces at Athens.¹³

The Senate now took official acknowledgment of the position of the triumvirs and placed their portraits on some of the money issued at the Roman Mint; but it was only a mitigated compliment, as these coins bear also the names of the moneyers, and on some of them the reverse types refer to the history of the moneyers themselves. The most remarkable piece connected with these events is the gold coin struck by Antony to commemorate his marriage with Octavia. It shows on the obverse the head of Antony, and on the reverse a female portrait, but without any legend [Pl. IX. 6]. In consequence of the absence of any inscription the female portrait has often been identified as that of Fulvia; but as it is precisely similar to those on later coins struck

¹³ *Cat. Roman Coins, Brit. Mus.*, vol. ii. pp. 408, 497, 498.

in the East during 39 B.C., it must be of Octavia. If of Fulvia it would have been issued early in 40 B.C.; but when she met Antony in Athens after the siege of Perusia, he received her with little grace, censuring her severely for having caused the rupture between his brother Lucius and Octavian. It was through grief at this treatment that she fell ill and died at Sicyon on her way to Italy.

The events of the next year, 39 B.C., were of still greater moment, as they witnessed an agreement concluded at Misenum, with Sextus Pompey, who was accorded a share in the government, receiving for his provinces Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and Achaia, a promise of the consulship, and the restoration of his patrimony. There are coins (*quinarii*) which seem indirectly to refer to this arrangement.¹⁴ They were struck by Antony, and have for obverse type the head of Concordia, and for reverse two right hands joined. After this compact Sextus returned to Sicily, Antony and Octavia to Athens, and Octavian to Gaul, where the disturbed state of the country required his presence. This was the beginning of a separate administration of the East and West, and the different principles on which it was carried out contributed largely to the general rupture between the two triumvirs. The two men governed on different principles. Antony's was the otiose policy of setting up client kings, who would take the trouble of government off his hands, pay him tribute, and acknowledge his supremacy.¹⁵ To Octavian, on the other hand, fell the task of preserving order, and of establishing Roman rule in countries nearer home; but, above

¹⁴ *Cat. Roman Coins, Brit. Mus.*, vol. ii. p. 438.

¹⁵ Schuckburgh, *Augustus*, p. 101.

all, he was bound to prevent Sextus Pompey from again interrupting the commerce and corn supply of Italy.

As soon as Antony reached Athens he began to collect forces to carry on the war against the Parthians, which had begun in the previous year. This war he did not conduct himself, but entrusted it to his able general Ventidius, whom we have already met with at the siege of Perusia. Ventidius was successful. In the first campaign 40-39 B.C., he prevented the union of the Parthians under Pharnapates and the troops of Labienus, a renegade Roman, who had gone over to the enemy, and had invaded Syria and captured Antioch. Labienus was compelled to escape to Cilicia, where he was shortly afterwards captured and put to death. Pharnapates was defeated, and fell in battle. The campaign was renewed in the following year; but the Parthians were again defeated by Ventidius in Cyrhastica, and on this occasion their king Pacorus was slain. For these victories Ventidius later received the gratification of a triumph; but at the time his services were not acknowledged, as the honours were decreed by the Senate to Antony on account of his superior rank and in conformity with the law, because it was he who was virtually in command (Dio, xlix. 21).

There are some interesting numismatic records of the Parthian campaigns. The first to be mentioned are the remarkable gold and silver coins struck by Labienus. For his success in Syria he not only assumed the title of Imperator, but he added to his gentile name that of Parthicus, for which those of his own time derided him, and Dio (xlviii. 26) remarks that Labienus had departed from the custom of Roman commanders,

who took such titles from the names of the people whom they had conquered; but he, on the contrary, had assumed his from the victorious nation. On the obverse is shown the portrait of Labienus with a beard, and on the reverse a horse with bridle and saddle to which a bag (probably a bow-case) is attached [Pl. IX. 7]. The horse has reference to the light cavalry for which Parthia was so famous, and which had so often proved disastrous to the Roman legions. The figure of the horse is not unskilfully rendered. Its small head, rather thick neck, short legs, and long tail were probably true to life. It is in marked contrast to representations of horses which are met with at this time on the republican coins. Still more interesting is the fact that we have a portrait of Labienus himself.

Another coin is an aureus of Antony, which commemorates the first victory of Ventidius over the Par-



FIG. 1.—Aureus of M. Antony: Victory over the Parthians.

thians, that in which Pharnapates perished. On the obverse we have a full-length figure of Antony holding a spear and a short sword, his left foot resting on a prow, and on the reverse a lion walking and holding a short sword in its paw; above, a star. Antony is here represented as commander-in-chief, not only of the legions serving in the East, but also of the Navy, and on the reverse the lion may be symbolical of the domination of

Rome; the star indicating the East, where the events occurred. Of this remarkable coin only one specimen has been known. It was formerly in the Paris Collection, but it disappeared in the great theft of 1831. Since then no other specimen has come to light. Fortunately Morelli¹⁶ has given an illustration of the coin, which is here reproduced. The drawing is, however, not to scale, being larger than the original piece, and there exists some doubt as to the accuracy of the legends. Another coin, which refers to the second campaign of Ventidius, shows on the obverse Antony in the dress of an augur holding the lituus, and on the reverse the radiate head of Sol, also emblematic of the East.¹⁷ There are still other records, but I must pass on to more important pieces.

We must now return to Italy, where trouble soon arose with Sextus Pompey, who complained that Antony had not carried out his part of the agreement at Misenum; first because he had not handed over to him his patrimony, and secondly that he still held Achaia. He therefore once more resumed the harassing of the Italian shores and the intercepting of the corn-ships. Octavian now determined to rid Italy of this constant peril. He assembled his troops at Brundisium and Puteoli, and invited Antony to his assistance. The latter came at once, but owing to Octavian not keeping the appointment he returned to Greece. Octavian therefore undertook the task himself. He ordered his ships to be equipped in the ports of Ostia and Ravenna, transported his troops from Illyricum, and set sail for Tarentum. The hostile fleets met in the bay of Cumae,

¹⁶ *Mon. fam. Num.*, pl. ii. no. 1.

¹⁷ *Cat. Rom. Coins, Brit. Mus.*, vol. ii. p. 506.

and the Pompeians gained a considerable advantage. This was followed by another naval battle in the Straits of Messina, which still further reduced Octavian's forces. This engagement was succeeded by two terrible storms which the Pompeians were able to avoid, but which practically annihilated the fleet of their enemy. Driven to despair Octavian determined to change his generals, and he therefore summoned Agrippa from Gaul, where the latter had recently met with considerable success. Octavian also sent Maecenas to Antony to ask him to take part in the war. Antony sailed at once to Tarentum, but Octavian in the meanwhile had changed his mind and declined to meet him. When an open breach between the triumvirs seemed imminent a reconciliation was effected by the skilful mediation of Octavia. The triumvirs met, and the gravity of the situation compelled them to lay aside their mutual distrust. It was therefore arranged that Antony should supply 120 ships to Octavian, who in return provided him with 20,000 legionaries to carry on the war against the Parthians. It was also agreed that the triumvirate should be renewed for a further period of five years. Armed with these additional ships, Octavian renewed his attacks, but at first with little success. At last the contending armies confronted each other on the coast near the town of Nauclochus, whilst the fleets fought in the offing. The battle was most fiercely contested on both sides, but at last the fleet commanded by Agrippa was successful, and Pompey was obliged to abandon his position, leave Sicily, and take refuge in the East.

There are again so many numismatic records of this final war with the Pompeian party that it is difficult to know which to select for illustration.

Of Sextus Pompey there are silver coins which commemorate his successes at the beginning of the campaign. One of these has on the obverse the head of Neptune, a reference to Sextus's title of "Son of Neptune," and on the reverse a naval trophy with representations of the heads of the marine monsters, Scylla and Charybdis [Pl. IX. 8]. Another coin, also a denarius, gives us a representation of the pharos, or light-house, of Messana surmounted by a figure of Neptune, and before it a vessel furnished with a grappling iron, a trident, and a staff with flag, and on the reverse Scylla wielding a rudder with both hands, her body terminating in two fish-tails and the foreparts of three dogs [Pl. IX. 9]. The types of these coins clearly show that they relate to the defeat of Octavian off the Scyllæan promontory, and the destruction of his fleet by storms. The representation of Scylla tallies with the descriptions given of her by ancient writers. According to the Homeric version (*Od.*, xii. 85 f.) she was a fearful monster, yelping like a dog, with twelve feet, six long necks, and on each a hideous head, and therein three rows of teeth set thick and close, with which she devoured those whom she had snatched from the deep or from ships. Other traditions describe her as a monster with six heads of different animals, or with only three heads; but the hybrid figure on the coin is more in conformity with the tradition that originally she was a beautiful maiden who was beloved by the marine god Glaucus, but through jealousy was metamorphosed by Circe in such a manner that the upper part of her body remained that of a woman, whilst the lower part was changed into a tail of a fish or serpent surrounded by dogs. The pharos is that which stood at the entrance of the harbour of Messana,

opposite to the fatal rock Scylla, and which served as a warning to mariners to avoid Charybdis. Of Antony besides a denarius with his portrait on the obverse, and an united naval and military trophy on the reverse,¹⁸ we have a most remarkable series of bronze coins of various types and denominations consisting of the sestertius or 4-as piece, the tressis or 3-as piece, the dupondius or double as, the as, the semis, and the sextans. Each denomination is distinguished by a different or varying obverse and reverse type, and by its respective mark of value. We shall limit our illustrations to the three principal pieces, the sestertius, the tressis, and the dupondius. On the first (see Fig. 2) are given the portraits of Antony and Octavia; and on the reverse they are



FIG. 2.—M. Antony : sestertius.

represented in the characters of Poseidon and Amphitrite standing in a quadriga drawn by hippocamps; below, the mark of value is represented by the Greek numeral Δ (*i.e.* four asses).

On the second piece, the tressis, we have on the obverse the conjoined portraits of Antony and Octavian facing that of Octavia, and on the reverse three galleys, and below the Greek numeral Γ showing that the current value of the coin was three asses (see Fig. 3).

¹⁸ *Cat. Roman Coins, Brit. Mus.*, vol. ii. p. 509.

On the third piece (see Fig. 4), the dupondius, the obverse type shows the portraits of Antony and Octavia

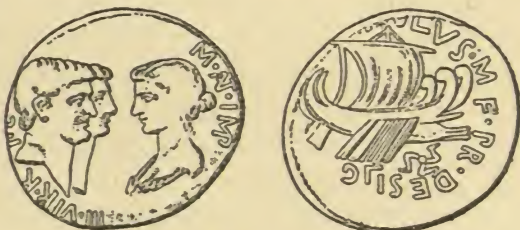


FIG. 3.—M. Antony: tressis.

face to face; and the reverse two galleys, and below the Greek numeral Β (*i.e.* two asses).

These coins were struck by three of the naval com-



FIG. 4.—M. Antony: dupondius.

manders of Antony, L. Calpurnius Bibulus, L. Sempronius Atratinus, and M. Oppius Capito, who, it may be well assumed, had taken part in the Sicilian war. The coins here figured are all of Bibulus. The two others used precisely the same types. The inclusion of the portrait of Octavian is a record of the reconciliation of the two triumvirs at Brundisium, and that of Octavia is a tribute to her for the part which she played in bringing about this reconciliation. Numerous questions have been raised as to the time when these coins were struck and their locality of issue, but these are points which we

cannot well discuss here as they would involve entering into somewhat intricate and minute particulars. The most important feature connected with these coins is that they appear to have served as the basis of the bronze money which was instituted at Rome a few years later (*c.* 15 B.C.), and which remained unchanged for over two centuries.

Though Lepidus took part in the war there are no coins of his relating to it, nor did Octavian strike any in Gaul; but the victory of Naulochus had a most remarkable and revolutionary effect on the coinage of the Roman capital. Hitherto, almost since the introduction of the silver money in 268 B.C., the coinage had been under the care of special officers of the Mint, who were three in number and bore the titles of "triumvirs for casting and striking in copper, silver, and gold." The names of these moneyers were inscribed on the coins. This had been the practice till 36 B.C. when the moneyer's names suddenly disappear and the coinage was struck in the name of Octavian only, first as Caesar, then as Imperator, and later as Augustus. For some time previously the influence of Octavian had been increasing rapidly in Rome, whilst that of the other triumvirs had been on the wane. Lepidus by his constant intriguing had lost the confidence of his colleagues, and Antony on account of his treatment of Octavia and his association with Cleopatra had become very unpopular. It was therefore to Octavian that the Senate and the people looked for their safety, and no greater proof of their confidence could be manifested than in ordering that in future the coinage should bear his name only. His portrait is usually shown on the obverse, and on the reverse he is represented in a

triumphal quadriga referring to the ovation which was granted to him on his return from Sicily [Pl. IX. 10]. He is also shown on horseback or rushing forward as leading his troops to battle and victory [Pl. IX. 11], or as addressing his troops after the victory.

From the battle of Naulochus to nearly the time of that of Actium there are no coins which demand special notice. Octavian for a while suspended his coinage in Gaul, and Antony practically did the same in the East. Lepidus also disappeared from the scene. He had been so faithless to Octavian that the latter deprived him of his province and banished him to Circeii, where he passed the remainder of his days, surviving till 13 B.C. The only honour which Octavian allowed him to retain was that of Pontifex Maximus; but he was not permitted to exercise the duties of his office in any way.

Though somewhat out of order in respect of date we may mention here some coins (denarii) of Lepidus which were issued by him during his governorship of Africa, 40-36 B.C. They form the only independent coinage struck by him during his triumvirate, and they are of only one type. On the obverse is the head of Lepidus with his name and titles of Pontifex Maximus and Triumvir, and on the reverse is that of Octavian with his titles of Imperator and Triumvir [Pl. IX. 12]. As it was mainly through the influence of Octavian that Lepidus was put in possession of his province of Africa, which Antony continued to hold for some time after the division of the Empire following the battles of Philippi, it was probably through gratitude that he associated the portrait of Octavian with his own on his coinage.

After the battle of Naulochus Octavian remained in Italy and occupied himself with the general administration

of affairs, the allotment of land to his soldiers and the embellishment of Rome, more particularly with the improvement of the public roads. In the East Antony experienced a disastrous defeat from the Parthians; but two years later he was more successful in his invasion of Armenia, which he celebrated by a triumph of extraordinary splendour at Alexandria, where he laid aside the character of a Roman citizen and submitted himself to the unbounded influence of Cleopatra. His conduct alienated many of his friends, and Octavian, who had the wrongs of his sister Octavia to avenge as well as ambition to stimulate him, thought that the time had now come for crushing Antony. Already at the beginning of 33 B.C. the triumvirs entered upon a series of recriminations. Antony reproached Octavian for having deprived Lepidus of his share in the administration, and for having appropriated the lands of Italy and the armies of Sextus Pompey. Octavian retorted by charging Antony with having put Sextus Pompey to death, with seizing the person of Artavasdes of Armenia and putting him to death, an act of perfidy and a blot on the honour of the Roman people, with his connexion with Cleopatra, and with conferring honours on the children of Cleopatra, complaining especially of the intrusion of Caesarion, her son by Caesar the Dictator, into the family of Caesar. The Senate was unwilling to proclaim Antony a public enemy, chiefly on account of those who were with him, and who would share the same condemnation; so war was openly decreed against Cleopatra. In anticipation each side had for some months entered on preparations for war. Early in 32 B.C. Antony left for Syria to collect his legions, and shortly afterwards Cleopatra followed with her fleet, both meeting at Ephesus.

Antony being unable to persuade Cleopatra to return to Egypt, they sailed together for Samos, accompanied by a tribe of players and musicians, so that, as Dio says (I. i.), "whilst the whole world was venting its anguish in groans and tears that island alone was piping and dancing." From Samos they went to Athens, where the entertainments were renewed. Cleopatra, jealous of the honours which the Athenians had conferred upon Octavia, endeavoured to court the people by every mark of favour, who in return decreed her public honours (Plutarch, *Antonius*, 59). It was possibly on this occasion that the well-known and interesting denarii which bear the portraits of Antony and Cleopatra were struck by order of Antony as a final retort to the recriminations of Octavian, and to the declaration of war by the Senate against Cleopatra.

The obverse shows the head of Antony, behind which is an Armenian tiara, referring to the recent campaign in Armenia, and on the reverse is a striking though not beautiful likeness of Cleopatra, and behind the bust the stem of a prow, no doubt referring to the assistance given by her to Antony in furnishing a navy [Pl. IX. 13]. The legend "*Cleopatrae Reginae Regum Filiorum Regum*" relates to the honours which had been paid to Cleopatra and her children by Antony, who on the occasion of his triumph at Alexandria, after the conquest of Armenia, ordered that she should be styled Queen of Kings, assigning to her at the same time Egypt, Cyprus, Africa, and Coele-Syria. Caesarion was appointed her successor, and of his sons by her, Alexander received Armenia and Media, and Ptolemy, Phoenicia, Lycia, and Cilicia, each one at the same time being given the title of "King of Kings."

Besides these coins Antony struck a large series of denarii and a few aurei, to be used for the payment of his armies and navies, which were gathered together in the sea-ports of Asia and Greece. These coins have on one side a galley, and on the other three military standards and the number of the legion for which they were struck [Pl. IX. 14]. Besides special pieces for the *cohortes praetoriae* and *speculatores* and other special troops, the number of legions recorded is thirty. If these thirty legions were at their full strength it would give an army of about 180,000 men. Plutarch (*Antonius*, 61) says that Antony's forces consisted of 500 armed vessels, 100,000 foot, and 12,000 horse. These coins are of somewhat base metal (Pliny relates that Antony mixed iron with his silver), which shows that the issue was of the nature of a "money of necessity" struck to meet a special emergency in the midst of great military preparations.

On the 3rd September, 31 B.C., the contending forces met off Actium, a promontory in Acarnania, where was situated the ancient and famous temple of Apollo. The history of this great battle is so well known that it is not necessary to give an account of it here. The result brought about the downfall and death of both Antony and Cleopatra. The honours now paid by the Senate to Octavian were unbounded. He was declared *Imperator perpetuo*, not in the sense as accorded to generals in consequence of victories achieved, for as such he had received it already on seven separate occasions, but as a praenomen or proper name, which was to be hereditary and to descend to his children and posterity (Dio, xliii. 44; lii. 41). All the coins struck at Rome were in his honour, and most of them bear types connected with this victory. He is represented in a triumphal chariot

bearing a laurel-branch, and on the reverse stands Victory on a prow holding a wreath and a palm-branch [Pl. IX. 15]; or he stands on the top of a rostral column, *i.e.* a pillar ornamented with prows of vessels [Pl. IX. 16]. Others have a united trophy of military and naval arms. These subjects and many others were repeated over and over again, year after year, not only on the coinage struck in Rome, but also on those issued in Gaul and the East.

By the battle of Actium the triumvirate, which for the last six years had only existed in name, came to an end: Antony was dead; Lepidus was in exile; Octavian alone remained in power. In 27 B.C. Octavian was proclaimed Augustus, a name which Suetonius (*Augustus*, 7) tells us "was not only new, but much more considerable than Quirenus or Romulus, which some of his friends wanted him to assume, because religious places and those wherein was anything consecrated by augury were called Augusta." It is therefore to this date that we may place the foundation of the great Roman Empire.

H. A. GRUEBER.

VIII.

THE STAMFORD FIND AND SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES ON THE COINAGE OF HENRY VI.

(See Plates X. and XI.)

ON October 22, 1866, a labourer named Richard Christian, in making a drain at the east end of St. George's Church, Stamford, broke with his pickaxe a coarse brown clay pot, which was found to be filled with groats ranging from the reign of Edward III to the early part of that of Edward IV. Strange as it now appears, little more than slight local notice seems to have been taken at the time of what has proved to be by far the most important find of late Plantagenet coins that is on record, and no account whatever of the hoard was attempted. Although it is forty-four years after the event, I have thought that it might even now be of interest to get together from all possible sources the various records that exist, and to endeavour by their aid to tell the story, however imperfectly, that should have been written when all the materials necessary were ready to hand. I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Grueber, the Keeper of Coins in the British Museum, for permission and facilities for taking particulars of a correspondence connected with the find, and of the coins subsequently acquired by the Museum, of which one of his earliest duties was to enter a detailed description in the archives.

Mr. Thomas Paradise, of the *Stamford Mercury*, appears to have sent early information of the find to the Lords of the Treasury, at whose instructions the local authorities promptly laid hands on the hoard, securing for the Crown 2940 groats, although it was said that over 3000 were in the pot when Christian broke it with his pick. In due course the coins were forwarded to the British Museum for examination and valuation, and they appear to have remained there for a considerable time. On August 27, 1868, a letter was sent from the Treasury to Mr. Paradise, in reply to one which he had written, stating that the coins had been sent some time since to the British Museum for examination and arrangement, and that the value set upon them by the Trustees of the Museum was one shilling each, at which price they proposed taking a considerable number to add to the Collection. Having regard to Mr. Paradise's early communication my Lords propose, as he suggests, to make a grant of these coins to be deposited in the "Stamford Institute," and to allow any person locally interested to purchase specimens at the price mentioned if they be furnished with their names.

Mr. Paradise replied on August 29, 1868, stating that "a meeting of the Committee of the Stamford Literary Institute will be held on Wednesday evening next." Mr. Paradise adds that he would like to secure some specimens himself, and asks for a further 100 to be sent at the price named for him to distribute at the same price to local persons interested. He concludes by saying that Richard Christian, the labourer who found the coins, had received the bullion value, which had relieved him from want during a long illness. On September 2, 1868, there is a letter from Mr. George Cayley, President of the Stamford

Institute, to Mr. W. S. W. Vaux, the then Keeper of Coins in the British Museum, asking him to make a selection of the coins for the Institute in accordance with the offer of the Treasury. The correspondence closes with a letter dated September 14, 1868, from the Treasury to Mr. Vaux requesting him to make a suitable selection for the Stamford Institution, and specimens, not exceeding 20, for Mr. Paradise himself, and a further selection of 100 for him to sell locally at one shilling each.

Mr. Vaux subsequently made the selection for the Stamford Literary Institute, as desired by the Treasury, and 76 groats were sent, of which the following list is a copy of that in the British Museum archives:—

Edward III :	London	.	.	.	4
	York	.	.	.	3
Robert Bruce :	Edinburgh	.	.	.	1
Henry IV, V, VI :	London	.	.	.	25
	Calais	.	.	.	20
	York	.	.	.	1
Edward IV :	London	.	.	.	22

After this selection the rest of the hoard appears to have been put aside by Mr. Vaux and to have remained in his care at the Museum until 1871, when, after a preliminary selection of 255, 188 were finally retained for the National Collection in September of that year, and those not selected returned to the Treasury, where they remained for between eight and nine years. These were eventually purchased in three portions between December, 1879, and April, 1880, by Messrs. W. S. Lincoln and Son, the well-known dealers in New Oxford Street, from whom others as well as myself have obtained many specimens.

It appeared desirable to give the foregoing details

before attempting to classify the coins, in order to show the sources from which I have been able to draw. In addition to these an unexpected opportunity occurred recently of examining Mr. Vaux's own selection of coins for the Stamford Institute in 1868. These were in the summer of last year (1910) sold by auction at Stamford with other effects of the Institute on the winding up of its affairs. This portion of the find was purchased by Mr. A. H. Baldwin, of Duncannon Street, who has kindly allowed me to take full particulars of all the coins.

The facts which I have been able to collect form a really surprising story in the light of present-day interest in coins of the period covered by the find. Even Mr. Neck, who published his (for the time) valuable paper on the Coinage of Henry IV, V, and VI in 1871, appears to have been hardly aware that such important material for his purposes was all the time he was writing lying within such easy reach. He does indeed make allusion to the find in a footnote (*Num. Chron.*, New Series, Vol. XI. p. 97), but says he has only seen a portion of it; and even this allusion must have been added after his paper was practically completed, as many hitherto unknown varieties of groats of Henry VI which were in the hoard are not alluded to in any way.

Perhaps the most interesting question connected with the present subject is the proportion of coins the hoard contained of the various reigns and issues of which it was composed, and I will put before the Society what I have been able to gather from my investigations. The coins were without exception groats, and the number is believed to have exceeded 3000, although, as previously stated, only 2940 were actually secured for the Treasury. This number can be accounted for as follows:—

Sent by authority of the Treasury from the British Museum to the Stamford Literary Institute, 1868?	76
Ditto, ditto, to Mr. Thos. Paradise of the <i>Stamford Mercury</i>	120
Purchased, September, 1871, by British Museum	188
Purchased by Messrs. W. S. Lincoln & Son from the Treasury, Dec., 1879	216
Feb., 1880	480
April, 1880, all that remained (by weight)?	1860
	<hr/>
	2940

The last number tentatively given is, as will be seen, that required to complete the total number. It cannot be very far wrong as the amount paid by Messrs. Lincoln and Son as bullion value appears to work out at over a hundred more, but this uncertainty is accounted for by our not having any record of what the bullion value per oz. of silver was estimated at by the Treasury in 1880. It would thus appear that we are able to trace practically the whole of the coins up to the last-named date. Those in the Museum I have been able to classify, and also those originally sent to the Stamford Institute; while in addition to having seen a large number of those purchased by Messrs. Lincoln, both the late Mr. Lincoln and his son were so good as to give me their fullest personal reminiscences of the coins that came into their possession. From the latter source I learned that by far the largest portion, or perhaps even as much as nearly 90 per cent. of the whole, consisted of the common Calais groats of Henry VI, a large number of which were consigned to the melting-pot. There were a certain number of Edward III all more or less worn and clipped, of both London and

York. Mr. Neck in his note quoting Mr. Justin Simpson of Stamford, mentions two of Richard II in rather poor condition, but says that none of Henry IV were noticed. There is, however, one in the British Museum from the find, of the usual type, with the Roman N in London, and another presumably from the find is mentioned (although not described) in the Sale Catalogue of the Collection of Mr. Samuel Sharp, F.S.A., of Great Harrowden Hall, near Wellingborough, sold April 3, 1883. In this catalogue 113 groats are described as being from the Stamford find. Of the other type of groats now generally recognized as belonging to Henry IV with the Lombardic n in London, I have seen one specimen from the selection sent to the Stamford Institute, and there is another in the British Museum [Pl. X. 1]. Of Henry V there were a certain number, but the most important feature of the hoard was the comparatively large number of groats of Henry VI of all the later issues, and of heavy groats of Edward IV, most of which were nearly, if not quite, in mint condition. There were a very few light groats of Edward IV with the rose and sun mint-marks, one of which was amongst those sent to the Stamford Institute. The indenture with Lord Hastings for the new or light coinage of Edward IV was, it is interesting here to note, dated from Stamford on August 13, 1464. The few light groats in the hoard would show that not many had got into circulation when it was concealed, and the date of this event may therefore be put with fair certainty at not later than about the beginning of 1465. Assuming that Mr. Lincoln's estimate of the proportion of the common Calais groats in the hoard is correct, there were probably between four and five hundred of the less common

varieties, which may be accounted for in the following manner:—

The Stamford Institute	76
British Museum	188
The Sharp Collection (1883) . . .	113
The Webb Collection (1894) . . .	67
<hr/>	
Total	444

The groats in the Sharp Collection may with all probability be assumed to be partially derived from the number sent to Mr. Paradise for local distribution, and partially from those not recovered for the Treasury, Mr. Sharp having been a well-known local collector. The groats from the Stamford find in the Webb Collection were probably obtained, to some extent at least, from the Sharp Collection; and those subsequently appearing in the Montagu and other sales are all stated to be from the two last-named collections. What became of the coins not recovered for the Treasury, and the 120 sent to Mr. Paradise of the *Stamford Mercury* by authority of the Treasury in 1868, it would be interesting to know, although my suggestions probably account for many of them. There is no reason to suppose that they were specially selected for their numismatic value, although it is likely that they would have been to a great extent well-preserved specimens.

Having given a general account of the find, and what it contained, and what became of the coins, it will now be desirable to draw attention to those of special interest amongst them. This I propose doing with some reference to my paper on the Silver Coinage of

the reign of Henry VI published in *Num. Chron.*, Fourth Series, Vol. II. pp. 224-266, and as a supplement thereto. In the eight years that have elapsed since I wrote that paper, nothing that I am aware has come to light to alter in any important way the general conclusions I then put forward, but at the same time various coins then unknown to me have since come to my notice enabling me to amplify what I previously wrote. This has particularly been the case since giving special attention to the Stamford find. Among the coins sent to the Stamford Institute in 1868 was a specimen of the extremely rare York groat of Henry VI of the annulet coinage, which appears to have been the only one in the hoard so far as can now be ascertained, unless possibly the one in Mr. Neck's Collection—the only other known outside the British Museum—came from the same source. In addition to its rarity this coin is of the greatest numismatic interest, as it fixes the type of the earliest coinage of Henry VI. No fresh varieties of the Calais or London annulet groats were in the find, and were hardly to be expected, but a few of the Calais annulet trefoil issue have come under my notice. In my former paper, following Mr. Neck I remarked on the curious circumstance of the trefoil to the left of the crown being omitted on the half-groat of this issue, while appearing on the groat and penny. I am now able to say that the half-groat was struck with the trefoil on the obverse like the other values, and that its absence on the half-groats seen by Mr. Neck and myself was due to their being mule coins struck from ordinary annulet obverse dies with the annulet trefoil reverse, having the trefoil after POSVI and an annulet in one quarter only. Even now,

however, I cannot produce a complete coin, but I have a half-groat from what must have been a regular annulet trefoil obverse die with the trefoil to the left of the crown, and an annulet rosette reverse die [Pl. X. 3]. The penny also, which in common with Mr. Neck I described as having (unlike the groat and half-groat) an annulet in *two* quarters of the reverse, is also a mule coin, and I now have a penny with the annulet in one quarter only, thus making it agree with the groat and half-groat [Pl. X. 2].

The Stamford find furnishes several previously unknown or unpublished varieties of the rosette-mascle coinage, affording interesting evidence of the birth and evolution (on the coins) of that hitherto unexplained object, the heraldic mascle, which with various vicissitudes retained its hold on the coinage in certain instances until the end of the reign of Henry VI, and even into the beginning of that of Edward IV.

In writing of the rosette-mascle coinage in my paper in *Num. Chron.*, Fourth Series, Vol. II. p. 239, I said that no Calais groats and half-groats had come under my notice similar to those of London of the first variety. Since then, however, I have found that there are several interesting varieties of this type of Calais groat, specimens of each of which I have obtained from coins in the Stamford hoard. The first to mention is of what may be termed the rosette coinage pure and simple. On the obverse there are no distinguishing marks of any sort, and the words are divided by single saltire stops. On the reverse there is a rosette after POSVI and ΑΠΛΙΣΙΗ, but no mascle or any mark save the usual cross mint-mark [Pl. X. 4]. The coin I would place next in order is exactly similar to the last, but a small mascle is placed

on the obverse after $\eta\epsilon\text{NRIC}$; but the reverse is exactly as before. There is a specimen of this groat in the British Museum Collection, and Mr. H. Earle Fox has another. These two and my own are the only specimens that I have seen, and they are possibly all from the Stamford find [Pl. X. 5]. The groat that appears to follow is one having an obverse similar to the first described, but with a small mascle introduced into the spandrils of the tressure on either side of the king's hair. There is no mascle after $\eta\epsilon\text{NRIC}$ or on the reverse, which is similar to the previous coins [Pl. X. 6]. Another groat of this variety shows for the first time a small mascle between LVI and L π on the reverse [Pl. X. 7]. The group is completed by a groat, which like the last has a bust of special character, with no mascle on the obverse, but like the others having large single saltire stops between the words. The reverse continues the small mascle before L π [Pl. X. 8]. These groats are all more or less rare, and would almost appear to have been trials for introducing the rosette and the mascle when these emblems were decided upon. Perhaps but for the Stamford find no specimens of some at least of the varieties might have come down to us. After these tentative coins the regular issue of the rosette-mascle groats of the ordinary types was, as is well known, so prolific that they share with those of the annulet coinage the distinction of being some of our commonest mediaeval coins. I may here mention that half-groats with mascles in the spandrils of the tressure, as on the groats, are now also known [Pl. X. 9], while a rare penny having no emblems on the obverse, and on the reverse a mascle before L π and a rosette after αKLISIC , may safely be attributed to the same issue [Pl. X. 10].

Of the "pine-cone" coinage the hoard presented no varieties of groats not previously known, although it afforded a considerable number of mules with reverses from dies of previous and succeeding coinages. Perhaps the most remarkable of these is the Calais groat having an "annulet" reverse, of which there were a certain number of specimens amongst those which Messrs. Lincoln had [Pl. XI. 1]. As I have said before, I believe that these coins can only be accounted for by reason of economy at the Calais mint when its prosperity was on the wane. The Calais half-groat with a "pine-cone" obverse and an annulet reverse is also now known, showing that an appreciable amount of this peculiar money must have been struck. Of the issue which I called that of the "rose-leaf" there was a fair number of Calais groats and some of London, some of the Calais specimens having "pine-cone" obverses. The special features of this issue, it may be well to recall, are a large clearly defined leaf *under* the bust on the obverse, and a similar leaf at the end of the outer reverse legend, usually *under* the final Ω . Another variety of groat of about this period, of which I noted two or three specimens amongst the Stamford coins, has a leaf on the point of tressure on the breast, but with no special marks of any sort in the legends on either side, unless possibly a mascle before REX; but owing to the imperfect striking of the specimen which I possess this detail is uncertain. The obverse mint-mark is a cross fleury and that on the reverse a plain cross.

To take the various coinages consecutively, we now come to that which Hawkins designates as the "pine-cone trefoil coinage," but which I have ventured to change into "rose-leaf trefoil," as it is quite clear to those who

have made a study of the later coinages of this reign that the pine-cone, which was evidently intended on the coinage that properly bears its name, was not continued after, although a leaf, carelessly mistaken for it, was extensively used on most of the later issues of Henry VI. On well-struck coins this leaf is quite unmistakable, the central and lateral fibres being clearly indicated. Of the rose-leaf trefoil coinage, which, as I said in my previous paper, really consists of a number of issues gradually varying as to the disposition of its characteristic emblems, the Stamford find supplied a considerable number of all the varieties, including some almost, if not quite, unknown previously. The earlier varieties especially must all have been rare up to this time, as the British Museum possesses scarcely any specimens derived from other sources. Of the latest variety, or what may be called the trefoil coinage proper, where the trefoils occur on either side of the bust, the Calais groats are some of the rarest and most interesting in the find. Unknown to Neck when he wrote on the coinage of Henry IV, V, and VI, they afford evidence that the Calais mint was at work later than he thought. Little money, however, can have been coming from it at this time, as I can only trace five or six of these trefoil groats from the find together with about as many mules having obverses from pine-cone dies. Of London trefoil groats those having the spandrels of the tressure filled with pointed trefoils, as on the nobles, were perhaps the least known previously, and even in the find there do not appear to have been many. In my first paper on the silver coinage of Henry VI (*Num. Chron.*, Fourth Series, Vol. II. p. 253), I said that no half-groats, pence, or halfpence are known having the trefoil at the sides of the neck. I acquired later two halfpennies with

this feature from the Longstaffe Collection, and I believe others are now known.

As with the previous coinage the pine cone is an entirely inappropriate name for what is obviously a leaf. I therefore propose to call it the leaf and pellet coinage.

The peculiar groats to which I alluded (*Num. Chron.*, Fourth Series, Vol. II. p. 256), with no special characteristics on the obverse beyond an unusual bust, but on which the additional pellets appear for the first time on the reverse in two quarters [Pl. XI. 4], or in all four [Pl. XI. 3], although their position is not easy to fix with certainty, must, I think, come here. I believe that this variety was not known previous to the find, and I have met with very few specimens. Two are in the British Museum, and one was sent to the Stamford Institute, while I obtained a fourth from the coins which Mr. Lincoln had.

Amongst groats of the regular type of this coinage in the find were two very rare ones of Calais [Pl. XI. 6], one being a mule with the reverse from a trefoil die [Pl. XI. 5], which are quite the last so far discovered of this mint. Of London groats I have seen one with four pellets in the field of the obverse: two at the sides of the crown, and two lower down at the sides of the hair. A groat in the British Museum collection from the Stamford find of the class to which I alluded in my original paper (p. 259), as having a star of four points on either side of the king's bust, is perhaps of more importance than I then thought [Pl. XI. 7]. I have since seen two other specimens from the find, one of which was amongst the selection sent to the Stamford Institute, and I now consider them as belonging to a transitional issue connecting the leaf and pellet coinage with the cross and pellet one.

Evidently a certain number of groats were struck with the peculiarity referred to, and I have now a halfpenny exactly similar with a leaf on the bust and a cross in saltire on each side of it [Pl. XI. 10], which suggests the probability of an issue of all silver denominations of this type. This is confirmed by the fact that the latest pennies of both York [Pl. XI. 8] and Durham [Pl. XI. 9] have the same obverse features, save that on those of Durham a B (for Bishop Booth) takes the place of one of the saltire crosses. The groats of this type, which appear to have been unknown previous to the Stamford find, may therefore be considered important as not only proving a distinct transitional London issue when the saltire cross was first adopted as a special mark, but as giving the type to the latest provincial coins of Henry VI previous to his deposition.

Of the "cross and pellet" coinage there was a considerable number of groats in the hoard, twenty being amongst those selected by the British Museum, while five were sent in the selection to the Stamford Institute. The varieties comprise (1) those with mascles in the obverse legends, (2) those having mullets in the obverse and reverse legends, and (3) those having s after FRANK, while some are without any of these features. The mullets and mascles are variously placed, but usually after HENRIC and POSVI. Although previous to the Stamford find all the later varieties of groats of Henry VI appear to have been rare, this must have been due to their recoinage under Edward IV, as the find affords evidence of their comparative abundance in 1464; while the mint accounts show that a very large quantity of silver was coined into money during the last four years of Henry's reign, when the cross and pellet type may be presumed

to have been the one in course of issue, including 7042 lbs. 7 ozs. for the year 1459-60.

A new variety of type was just making its appearance when Henry VI was deposed, that with the special distinguishing mark of the fleur-de-lys upon the king's neck, of which only groats are so far known [Pl. XI. 11]. A few of these were in the Stamford hoard, but apart from a single specimen in the British Museum, none seem to have been previously known. Even the few in the find appear to have been overlooked, as no specimen was retained for the National Collection or sent to the Stamford Institute, although there were several varieties of mint-marks on the reverse.

A special feature of the hoard was the number and variety of heavy groats of Edward IV, hitherto coins of considerable rarity. All these I have described in *Num. Chron.*, Fourth Series, Vol. IX., in an article on the coinage of Edward IV, so I will only make short reference to them here. They were all in practically mint condition, and out of the number thirty-nine were retained for the National Collection, while twenty were sent to the Stamford Institute, one of the most interesting of the latter having on the obverse two varieties of the rose mint-mark side by side, one being the formal rosette and the other the larger full-blown single rose. This piece is not described in the list at the end of my paper as the coins from the Stamford Institute only came under my notice after I wrote it.

Although much belated and imperfect through lapse of time, this record of the particulars which can now be gathered about the great find of groats at Stamford in 1866 may still be welcome, especially to those who are interested in the coinages of the later Plantagenet kings.

At the same time it has afforded me an opportunity of amplifying and correcting my paper on the silver coinage of Henry VI, published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1902. To these particulars I append a detailed list of the coins from the find selected by Mr. Vaux both for the British Museum and the Stamford Institute, and as this paper deals mainly with the reign of Henry VI, and is to some extent supplementary to my former papers on his coinage, I give also the mint accounts which I have obtained from the Record Office of the amounts of both gold and silver coined between 1422 and 1460.

RECORD OF THE GROATS SELECTED FROM THE STAMFORD FIND BY
MR. VAUX FOR THE BRITISH MUSEUM COLLECTION AND FOR THE
STAMFORD INSTITUTE.

Reign.		British Museum.	Stamford Institute.
SCOTCH.			
Robert III	Edinburgh	1	1
"	Perth	1	—
James II	Edinburgh	1	—
ENGLISH.			
Edward III	1351-60, London	3	2
"	Contemporary forgery	1	—
"	York	1	4
"	1360-69, London	1	1
Richard II		none	none
Henry IV	Light coinage, London, with Roman \mathcal{H} English \mathcal{N}	1	—
"	mint-mark cross patée with sunk circle	1	1
Henry V	With mullet on left breast	4	—
Henry VI	Annulet coinage, London	2	2
"	York	—	1
"	Calais	3	9
"	Annulet trefoil issue, Calais	2	—
"	Contemporary forgeries	2	—
"	Rosette-mascle coinage, London (early)	2	1
"	Calais	5	9
"	Pine-cone "mascle" coinage, London	3	2
"	Calais	6	6
"	" " " " " "	—	—
"	Rose-leaf issue, London	2	—
"	Calais	2	—
"	Rose-leaf trefoil issue, London, including the several lesser variations	14	3

Reign.	Mint.		British Museum.	Stamford Institute.
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Trefoil Coinage.

Henry VI	London	With trefoils at sides of bust ; mint-mark, cross fleury <i>obv.</i> only	4	—
"	"	With trefoils forming two cusp- terminals	3	1
"	"	Mint-mark, cross fleury <i>obv.</i> and <i>rev.</i>	2	—
"	"	Pointed trefoils in spandrils of tressure	1	—
"	"	<i>Mule</i> , pine cone <i>obv.</i> , trefoil <i>rev.</i>	1	—
"	"	With pellets at sides of crown or in two quarters of reverse	8	—
"	Calais	With trefoils at sides of bust and on <i>rev.</i> before $\text{L}\overline{\text{N}}$ and $\text{SI}\overline{\text{A}}$	1	—
"	"	<i>Mule</i> , pine cone <i>obv.</i> ; <i>rev.</i> , trefoil coinage (trefoils in inner legend)	2	—
"	"	<i>Mule</i> , pine cone <i>obv.</i> ; <i>rev.</i> no distinguishing mark	1	—
"	London	Peculiar bust with no dis- tinguishing marks on <i>obv.</i> ; <i>rev.</i> has extra pellet in two quarters. Mint-mark, cross fleury on <i>obv.</i> only. See Pl. XI. 4.	2	1

Leaf and Pellet Coinage.

Henry VI	London	Leaf on point of tressure on breast	8	3
"	Calais	<i>Mule</i> , <i>obv.</i> of this issue; <i>rev.</i> of trefoil coinage, trefoil after $\text{L}\overline{\text{N}}$	1	—
"	London	Leaf above point of tressure which is fleured (two read $\text{FR}\overline{\text{AN}}\overline{\text{DI}}\overline{\text{A}}$)	10	1
"	"	Leaf above point of tressure, which is fleured; saltire cross at each side of neck	1	1
"	"	Leaf on neck	19	2

Cross and Pellet Coinage.

Henry VI	London	Reading $\text{ANGLI FR}\overline{\text{AN}}\overline{\text{D}}$, with mullet after $\text{h}\overline{\text{AN}}\overline{\text{RI}}\overline{\text{A}}$ and POSVI	10	2
"	"	With mullet after $\text{FR}\overline{\text{AN}}\overline{\text{D}}$	1	—
"	"	With mascle after $\text{h}\overline{\text{AN}}\overline{\text{RI}}\overline{\text{A}}$	4	1
"	"	Reading $\text{ANGL FR}\overline{\text{AN}}\overline{\text{D}}$, with mullet after $\text{h}\overline{\text{AN}}\overline{\text{RI}}\overline{\text{A}}$ and POSVI	5	2

Reign.	Mint.		British Museum.	Stamford Institute.
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Cross and Pellet Coinage—cont.

Edward IV	London	Mint-mark cross fleury, lis on neck, pellets at sides of crown and in two quarters of reverse; <i>rev.</i> , mint-mark lis	3	2
"	"	Mint-mark, <i>obv.</i> , cross fleury; <i>rev.</i> , none; lis on neck, pellets at sides of crown and in two quarters of reverse	1	1
"	"	Mint-mark, <i>obv.</i> , plain cross; <i>rev.</i> , lis, otherwise as before	1	—
"	"	Mint-mark, <i>obv.</i> and <i>rev.</i> , plain cross, otherwise as before	1	1
"	"	Mint-mark, <i>obv.</i> , plain cross; <i>rev.</i> , none	1	—
"	"	Mint-mark, <i>obv.</i> , plain cross; <i>rev.</i> , none; reads <i>DEI</i> ; mascle after <i>FRANQ</i> ; otherwise as before	4	2
"	"	Mint-mark, <i>obv.</i> and <i>rev.</i> , plain cross; lis on <i>breast</i> forming fleur to point of tressure	1	—

Heavy Groats.

Edward IV	London	Mint-mark, <i>obv.</i> , plain cross; <i>rev.</i> , rosette, lis on neck; no extra pellets in quarters of reverse No pellets at sides of crown or in two quarters of reverse	2	—
"	"	Mint-mark, rose or rosette; <i>obv.</i> and <i>rev.</i> , crescent on breast	11	6
"	"	As last, but rose and rosette mint-marks together on obverse	—	1
"	"	Mint-mark, <i>obv.</i> and <i>rev.</i> , rose or rosette, small trefoil of pellets on point of cusp on breast	13	6
"	"	As last, but nothing on cusp of tressure on breast	2	—

THE STAMFORD FIND AND COINAGE OF HENRY VI. 171

Reign.	Mint.		British Museum.	Stamford Institute.
<i>Light Groats.</i>				
Edward IV	London	Mint-mark, <i>obv.</i> and <i>rev.</i> , rose (early var.), small trefoil on bust; eye after TΛS on <i>rev.</i>	2	—
"	"	Mint-mark rose; <i>obv.</i> and <i>rev.</i> , annulets at sides of bust; eye after TΛS on <i>rev.</i>	1	—
"	"	Mint-mark rose; <i>obv.</i> and <i>rev.</i> of usual later type	1	1
"	"	Mint-mark sun; <i>obv.</i> and <i>rev.</i> , usual type	3	—
"	Norwich	Mint-mark, <i>obv.</i> , rose (?); <i>rev.</i> , sun, R on breast of king. Reads NORVIC	1	—

AMOUNTS OF GOLD AND SILVER COINED DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY VI, FROM THE EXCHEQUER ACCOUNTS AT THE RECORD OFFICE (FOREIGN ROLL).

Date.		Mint.	Gold.			Silver.		
			lbs.	ozs.	dwt.	lbs.	ozs.	dwt.
1422	Mar. 31, 1422, to Michaelmas, 1424	London	19,746	11	0½	6,924	0	10
1423	Aug. 12, 1423, to Aug. 14, 1424	York	2,538	7	12½	330	3	10
1424	1424 to 1428 (Ruding)	Calais	2,834	9	7	67,745	4	10
"	Michaelmas, 1424, to Michaelmas, 1425	London	3,453	12	10	1,612	4	7
1425	Michaelmas, 1425, to Easter, 1427	"	3,078	4	12½	2,702	9	5
"	Easter to Mich., 1427	"	762	2½	2	593	8	15
1427	Michaelmas, 1427, to Michaelmas, 1428	"	1,691	10	7	1,163	8	5
1428	Feb., 1428, to Aug. (Ruding), 1431	Calais	361	3	10	89,660	9	0
1430	Michaelmas, 1428, to Mar. 31, 1430	London	1,528	10	7	2,894	9	17
"	Mar. 31, 1430, to Mich., 1431	"	1,300	11¾	2	2,814	9¾	0
1431	Michaelmas, 1431, to Michaelmas, 1433	"	1,143	4½	2	2,328	5	2
1433	(Ruding)	Calais	—			26,182	10	dJ.
"	Michaelmas, 1433, to Michaelmas, 1434	London	477	4	7	425	11½	0
1434	June, 1434, to Michaelmas, 1434	"	157	6	15	144	7	ob.
1435	Michaelmas, 1434, to next St. John Baptist, 1435	"	300	0	1¼	523	10½	2
1436	Feb. to Mar., 1436	Calais	—			1,770	0	0

Date.		Mint.	Gold.			Silver.		
			lbs.	ozs.	dwt.	lbs.	ozs.	dwt.
1436	June, 1435, to Michaelmas, 1436	London	505	7	6 ob.	864	2	9 qr. 3 d.
1437	Michaelmas, 1436, to Michaelmas, 1437	"	339	9	5	547	$\frac{1}{2}$	0
1438	Michaelmas, 1437, to Michaelmas, 1438	"	315	1	2 ob.	1,477	$7\frac{1}{2}$	0
1439	Michaelmas, 1438, to Dec., 1439	"	545	7	$13\frac{3}{4}$	4,288	2	13
1440	Dec., 1439, to Easter, 1441	"	505	$4\frac{1}{2}$	0	2,751	$3\frac{1}{2}$	0
1441	Easter (Apr. 16), 1441, to Michaelmas, 1443	"	691	3	$11\frac{1}{2}$	529	7	ob.
1444	Michaelmas, 1443, to Michaelmas, 1444	"	348	8	14	155	8	15
1445	Michaelmas, 1444, to Michaelmas, 1445	"	163	$3\frac{3}{4}$	0	207	3	0
"	Michaelmas to Dec., 1445	"	37	8	0	$41\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{3}{4}$	0
1446-7	Dec., 1445, to St. John Baptist, 1447	"	236 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	$8\frac{1}{2}$	654	4	0
1445-7	(Coined for obols)	"	—			1,872	$10\frac{1}{2}$	0
1448-9	St. John Baptist, 1447, to Oct. 11, 1449	"	292	9	0	789	11	0
1450	Oct., 1449, to Michaelmas, 1450	"	357	1	$1\frac{1}{2}$	4,635	2	5
"	Michaelmas, 1450, to Easter (Apr. 9), 1452	"	415	1	$3\frac{3}{4}$	10,789 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	15
1452	Apr. 9, 1452, to Apr. 1, 1453	"	262	$\frac{1}{2}$	0	4,089	8	16
1453	Apr. 1, 1453, to Easter (Apr. 21), 1454	"	123	10	7	3,605	5	5
1454	Apr. 21, 1454, to Easter (Mar. 28), 1456	"	149	6	0	5,469	10	0
1456	Mar. 28, 1456, to Michaelmas, 1457	"	128	$2\frac{1}{2}$	7	6,662 $\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	0
1458	Michaelmas, 1457, to Michaelmas, 1458	"	84	10	0	3,660	8	0
"	Michaelmas, 1458, to Michaelmas, 1459	"	{ 19 5 11 29 3 14 }			3,103	2	0
1459-60	Michaelmas, 1459, to Michaelmas, 1460	"	113	2	15	7,042	7	0

Complete accounts of the bullion coined at the Calais mint, if they exist, are not at present available. This is probably due to the fact that a quantity of documents are still unclassified at the Record Office, and I have been unable to find even those which were accessible to Rading at the Tower. I have, therefore, for the sake of

completeness, quoted from him the amounts between 1424 and 1433. After that I have been a little more successful, the "Foreign Roll" giving the account of Joan Bokeland, "late widow and executrix of Richard Bokeland, keeper of the mint at Calais," from February 10 to March 30, 1436, during which time 1770 lbs. of silver appears to have been coined into money. Previous to this it is recorded that, from March 30, 1435, to February 10, 1436, no return is given because no money was coined on account of the war with the Duke of Burgundy. There is later on for 1439-40 an entry of £4 17s. 5d. for the king's seignorage from "denarii" coined at the Calais mint, but no weight of bullion is given. This is the latest record that I have been able to find.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES.

PLATE X.

No.

1. Henry IV light groat of transitional type.
2. Henry VI Calais penny of annulet-trefoil coinage.
3. " Calais half-groat, with obverse of the true annulet-trefoil type with trefoil to left of crown. Reverse from a rosette mascle die.
4. " Calais groat of the rosette coinage without mascle.
5. " Calais groat of earliest rosette mascle issue with small mascle after HERRIQU.
6. " Calais groat of second (?) variety of the rosette-mascle issue with mascles in two spandrils of tressure, but none on reverse.
7. " Calais groat, a variety of the last with small mascle on reverse before LK.

- No.
 8. Henry VI Calais groat of early rosette-mascle issue previous to introduction of rosettes and mascles in obverse legend.
 9. „ Calais half-groat of early rosette-mascle issue with mascles in two spandrils of tressure.
 10. „ Calais penny, corresponding with previous groats and half-groats.
 11. „ London half-groat of late rosette-mascle type, one of the only two known with cross fleury mint-mark, and rosettes and mascle in obverse legend.

PLATE XI.

1. Henry VI Calais groat of the "pine-cone" coinage with reverse from a die of the annulet coinage.
2. „ London groat of the "trefoil" coinage, with trefoils on points of tressure at sides of bust.
3. „ London groat of peculiar type without distinguishing marks on obverse, extra pellet in four quarters of reverse.
4. „ London groat, similar to last, with extra pellet in two quarters only of reverse.
5. „ Calais groat of leaf and pellet coinage with reverse from a die of the trefoil coinage.
6. „ Calais groat of leaf and pellet coinage. The latest known from the Calais mint.
7. „ London groat of transitional type between the "leaf and pellet" and "cross and pellet" coinages; saltire crosses at sides of bust.
8. „ York penny of same type (the latest known).
9. „ Durham penny of same issue (also the latest known).
10. „ London halfpenny of same issue.
11. „ London groat. The latest of Henry VI with lys upon neck.

The coins illustrated in the two foregoing plates are, in addition to their reference (in most instances) to the Stamford find, intended to be supplementary to Plates VIII. to XI., Vol. II., *Num. Chron.*, Fourth Series, referring to a paper in the same volume on "The Silver Coinage of the Reign of Henry VI."

FREDK. A. WALTERS.

IX.

COINS OF THE SHĀHS OF PERSIA.

(Continued from N.S., Vol. VIII, p. 379.)

II. SILVER COINAGE FROM THE REFORM OF THE CURRENCY BY NĀDIR TO THE ACCESSION OF NĀSR-AD-DĪN SHĀH. 1737-1848 A.D.

NĀDIR. 1736-1747 A.D. = 1148-1160 A.H.

As already mentioned in a previous article, Nādir introduced during the second year of his reign a new currency the particulars of which are given as follows by Jonas Hanway:—

	Dinars,	Miscals,	Grains,
The toman (imaginary) . . .	10,000	—	—
Hazardinar which the English called mildinar and the Russians Rouble	1000	5	360
Punsad-dinar, or Rupī, or Nadirī	500	2½	180
Sisad-dinar, or six shahis . .	300	1½	108
Abbasi, or four shahis . . .	200	1	72
Sad-dinar, or Mahmudi . . .	100	½	36
Shahi	50	¼	18
Bisti (imaginary)	20	—	—

The mildinar was computed as equivalent to an English crown of five shillings.

Amongst the coins described I would draw attention to Nos. 2 and 3, rare coins of the Period struck at Darband and Kābul; the latter with the prefix دار المللك

The weights of coins are ¹—

Highest	353	180·1	108·3	70·8	18
Lowest	347·2	173·5	100·3	69	16·7
Average	350·3 (5)	177·6 (26)	105·3 (32)	70·1 (5)	17·4 (6)

SĀM. 1747 A.D. = 1160 A.H.

The only coins of the pretender Sām which have reached us are half rupis, the weights being 88·5 and 78·4.

‘ĀDIL SHĀH. 1747–1748 A.D. = 1160–1161 A.H.

Of ‘Ādil Shāh’s coinage we only have the hazardinar or double rupi of 360 grains, and the abbasi of 72 grains.

The weights are—

Highest	353·5	71·9
Lowest	353·5	68·7
Average	353·5 (1)	69·6 (10)

IBRĀHĪM. 1748–1749 A.D. = 1161–1162 A.H.

Ibrāhīm, as far as we can make out, struck the 3-abbasi piece of 216 grains, the abbasi of 72, and the shahi of 18 grains.

Mr. R. S. Poole mentions the 3-abbasi piece as equivalent to 18 shahis; this is evidently a misprint for 12 shahis.

The shahi described under No. 8, and bearing the inscription *ادرکنی یا صاحب الزمان* and the date Isfahan 1161 A.D., may belong to the interregnum of three months between the deposition of ‘Ādil Shāh and the proclamation of Isma‘il.

¹ The figures in brackets indicate the number of coins on which the averages are based.

The weights of coins are—

Highest	215.4	72.1	17.5
Lowest	213.5	70	17.5
Average	214.4 (2)	71.2 (4)	17.5 (1)

SHĀH RUKH. 1748-1796 A.D. = 1161-1210 A.H.

Of the coinage of this unfortunate sovereign we have the double rupi, the rupi, and the abbasi of 72 grains. The coin of 112 grains may be overweight for the 6-shahi piece of 108 grains. It is scarcely credible that it should be underweight for 144 grains, or a 2-abbasi piece, unless it is a debased and spurious coin.

I have attributed to Shāh Rukh the Kazwīn coin of 1161 A.H. described under No. 11 and bearing the distich—

تا زرو سیم در جهان باشد
سکه صاحب الزمان باشد

The weights of coins are—

Highest	359	177.8	112	72	18.1
Lowest	344.4	170.8	112	68.4	17.8
Average	353.7 (5)	174.3 (5)	112 (1)	70.4 (6)	17.9 (2)

SULAIMĀN II. 1749-1750 A.D. = 1163 A.H.

Of the coinage of Sulaimān II we only have the abbasi of 72 grains; the two specimens I know of weigh respectively 69.2 and 65.3 grains.

ISMA'IL III. 1750-1756 A.D. = 1163-1169 A.H.

The coins of Isma'il III which have reached us are the rupi and the shahi of 18 grains. The weights are—

Highest	177.8	17.7
Lowest	170.7	17.4
Average	173.5 (9)	17.5 (2)

KARĪM KHĀN. 1750-1779 A.D. = 1163-1193 A.H.

Karīm Khān issued at first the rupi of 180 grains, the abbasi of 72, and the shahi of 18 grains. About 1282 A.H. he introduces the 2-abbasi piece of 144 grains and seems to have stopped issuing rupis.

Tiflis, Shamākhi, and Ganjah, towards the end of Karīm's rule, had local issues, based on the shahi of 12 grains, the series being 12, 24, 48, and 60 grains.²

Before leaving the subject of the coinage of Karīm Khān, I would draw attention to the non-conspicuous way in which the invocation يا كريم is introduced on some coins. A good instance of this will be found in coin No. 12, where we have—

يا كريم
صا الزمان

and No. 13

يا كريم
بحق صا

The weights of coins are—

Highest	177·5	143·1	107·3	72·1	17·8
Lowest	173·6	141·1	106·3	65·6	17·4
Average	175·1 (4)	141·5 (9)	106·8 (2)	69·1 (86)	17·6 (3)

² Writing in 1777, Gmelin says: "Les Persans ont de la monnoye d'or, d'argent & de cuivre, tant ancienne que nouvelle. Les différens genres des pièces de cette monnoye portent la même dénomination, mais varient en valeur. Et comme tous les souverains du pays ne sont nullement d'accord entre eux, il n'est pas possible qu'ils puissent convenir de rien, relativement à la valeur des espèces. Chaque Kan fait battre sa propre monnoye, & détermine sa valeur selon son bon plaisir."

James Morier mentions that a miscal of silver under Karīm Khān was equivalent to 300 dinars. The Tiflis, Shamākhi and Ganjah coins of 60, 48, and 30 grains are therefore $\frac{1}{2}$ rupis, abbasis, and mahmudis. The successors of Karīm Khān, however, continued to issue the Rupi of 180 grains.

and for the coins of Tiflis, Shamākhī, and Ganjah—

Highest	58·1	48·3	25·2
Lowest	50·3	42·6	22·4
Average	55·3 (3)	46·5 (16)	23·8 (2)

MUḤAMMAD ḤASAN KHĀN KĀJĀR

and the successors of Karīm Khān down to Akā Muḥammad Khān issued the rupi of 180 grains, the abbasi of 27 grains, and the shahi of 18 grains.

The weights are as follows:—

MUḤAMMAD ḤASAN KHĀN.³ 1750–1759 A.D.
= 1163–1173 A.H.

Highest	179·8	68·4
Lowest	175·2	68·4
Average	177 (6)	68·4 (1)

ĀZĀD KHĀN. 1753–1756 A.D. = 1166–1169 A.H.

Highest, 69; lowest, 68·2; average, 68·6 (2).

KHĀN OF GANJAH. ABOUT 1761–1776 A.D.
= 1175–1190 A.H.

Highest	71·5	17·2
Lowest	67·7	17·2
Average	69·6 (3)	17·2 (1)

ŞĀDĪK KHĀN. 1779–1782 A.D. = 1193–1196 A.H.

Highest	178·6	18·3
Lowest	169·4	18
Average	174·1 (3)	18·1 (2)

³ I am greatly indebted to Professor Dr. Nützel of the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin, for a cast of a coin of Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān bearing the following distich:—

شد زیمین دین حق رایج بتوبیق خدا
سکه اقبال بر نام علی موسی الرضا

'ALĪ MURĀD KHĀN. 1779-1785 A.D. = 1193-1199 A.H.

Highest, 178.4 ; lowest, 176.5 ; average, 177.4 (3).

JA'FAR KHĀN. 1785-1789 A.D. = 1199-1203 A.H.

Highest, 179.7 ; lowest, 172.4 ; average, 176.5 (5).

The date of Ja'far Khān's accession and of the death of 'Alī Murād is given in the third and fourth lines of the following chronogram⁴ :—

بضبط سال جلوس مبارک میمون
که هست مبداء تاریخ عشرت دوران
نوشت کلاک صباحی ز قصر سلطانی
علیمراد برون شد نشست جعفر خان

AḥMAD SHĀH AND TĪMŪR SHĀH.

Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī and his son Tīmūr Shāh both struck rupis of 180 grains at Mashhad in their own names. These coins are usually included amongst Afghanistan coins.

The distich used by Aḥmad Shāh is—

حکم شد از قادر بیچون باحمد بادشاه
سکه زن بر سیم و زر از اوج ماهی تاباه

that used by Tīmūr Shāh—

سکه زد بر زر بتوفیق اله
نام سلطان جهان تیمور شاه

AḲĀ MUHAMMAD KHĀN. 1779-1797 A.D.

= 1193-1211 A.H.

Aḳā Muhammad Khān continued to issue rupis of 180 grains, abbasis of 72 and shahis of 18 grains, but about 1206 A.H. he introduced a coin of 195 grains

⁴ The explanation of the chronogram is as follows: from قصر سلطانی = 550 is taken away علیمراد = 355; but is added جعفر خان = 1004; the result is 1199.

and its half of 97·5 grains, the two varieties being apparently concurrent.

His coins which have reached us are not numerous enough to allow us to form a very accurate idea of the coinage of his reign.

The weights of coins are—

Highest	177·8	71·2	18·5 and 194·8	88·4
Lowest	166	71·2	16	182·4
Average	173·8 (5)	71·2 (1)	17 (3)	189·4 (6)
				88·4 (1)

FATH 'ALĪ SHĀH. 1797-1834 A.D. = 1211-1250 A.H.

The description of the coinage of Fath 'Ali Shāh given in the Catalogue of the Coins of the Shāhs of Persia in the British Museum is so inaccurate that it is difficult to see how the figures given were ever arrived at.

As Bābā Khān, before his proclamation, Fath 'Ali Shāh issued the rupi of 180 grains and the shahi of 18 grains.

After his enthronement, he reduced the rupi to 162 grains, and issued the $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, 1, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ rupi. In 1816-17 he further reduced the weight of the rupi to 144 grains, and we find of this period the $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, and 1 rupi.

In 1826, on the thirtieth anniversary of his reign, he introduced the coin of 108 grains called kran, قران, from the word karn, قرن, or 30 years' period. This coin was equal to the tenth of the toman, or 20 shahis, in value.

Coins Nos. 30 and 31 are of interest, having been struck at Panāhābād. They are half rupis, and when the kran was struck, the name panahabad, or panabad, was given to its half, or the 10-shahi piece.

The weights of coins are—

A.H. 1211-1212.

Highest	174·7	12·8	pierced
Lowest	170·7	12·8	„
Average	172·7 (2)	12·8 (1)	„

A.H. 1212-1232.

Highest	234	161·5	81·8	38·7	20·2
Lowest	234	154	70·6	28·6	19·8
Average	234 (1)	158·3 (38)	75·7 (6)	34·7 (6)	19·9 (4)

A.H. 1232-1241.

Highest	143·5	65·8	29	16·2	
Lowest	128	64·5	29	16·1	
Average	139 (18)	65·1 (2)	29 (1)	16·1 (2)	
pierced					

A.H. 1240-1250.

Highest	111·3	54	19 (pierced)
Lowest	102·2	48·5	19
Average	105·4 (26)	51·5 (2)	19 (2)

MUḤAMMAD SHĀH. 1835-1848 A.D. = 1250-1264.

Muḥammad Shāh continued his predecessor's last coinage, but in the second year of his reign reduced the weight of the kran to 30 nakhods or 90 grains, and shortly afterwards to 28 nakhods or 84 grains.

He issued 2½, 5, and 10 Shahi pieces and 1 and 2 kran pieces.

The weights of coins are—

A.H. 1250-1251.

Highest	107	22·3
Lowest	99·8	22·3
Average	104·3 (3)	22·3 (1)

A.H. 1252-1255.

Highest	89·7	44·2	10·9
Lowest	86·5	41	9·6
Average	88·1 (5)	43·6 (3)	10·3 (3)

A.H. 1255-1264.

Highest	165·1	84	40	8·4
Lowest	165·1	79·8	40	8
Average	165·1 (1)	82·2 (2)	40 (1)	8·2 (2)

HASAN KHĀN SĀLĀR.

According to Mr. R. S. Poole, Ḥasan Khān Sālār, who, after the death of Muḥammad Shāh, made himself independent and struck money at Mashhad in 1265 A.H. (1849), continued the formula of the late Shāh, which does not designate the sovereign except by allusion.

I am informed, however, that he made use of the following distich on his coins :—

سکه بر زر میزند سالار الدین
یاورش باشد امیر المومنین

DISTICHS OF THE KĀJĀRS.

The Kājārs do not make use of a distich as a coin inscription, although they have one on their seal. These distiches are—

Fath 'Alī Shāh—

قرار در کف شاه زمانه فتحعلی
کگفت خاتم شاهی ز قدرت ازلی

Muḥammad Shāh—

شکوه ملک دولت خسرو ائین دین آمد
محمد شاه غازی صاحب تاج و نگین آمد

Nāṣr-ad-Dīn Shāh—

تاکه دست ناصر دین خاتم شاهی کگفت
صیت داد و معدلت از ماه تا ماهی کگفت

Muzaffar-ad-Dīn Shāh—

دمید کوکب فتح و ظفر به عون اله
کذفت خاتم شاهى مظفر الدين شاه

Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh—

به توقيع بر زد به يمن الله
محمد على خاتم پادشاهى

We find that Muḥammad Shāh is called on a medal

سرکار قدر قدر ظل الله محمد شاهنشاه ايران

and that he makes use of the following invocation on one of his heavy gold coins:—

بسم الله العزيز

EVIDENCE OF COINS.

The table on pp. 186, 187 gives the maximum weights of the various Persian coins for the period 1737–1848 A.D.

The most interesting coins, for this period, which I examined were ⁵—

NĀDIR.

1. Tiflis, 1151.

Obv.—B.M. 214.

Rev.—

الخیر فیما وقع
مانوب
میمنه
تاریخ جلوس
۱۱۵۱

(pierced) R. 0·95. Wt. 68·3.

⁵ A number with "B.M." prefixed refers to that number in Reginald S. Poole's *Catalogue of the Coins of the Shahs of Persia in the British Museum*. A number with no letters prefixed refers to coins described in the present list.

PERSIAN CURRENCY, 1737-1848. EVIDENCE

Multiples	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Nakhods	120	72	60	48	36	30	24	18	24	20	16	8	60	32½	81	
Grains	360	216	180	144	108	90	72	18	72	60	48	24	195	97½	243	
Nādir	(1) 353		180-1		108-3		70-8	18								
Sām	(2) 353-5					88-5										
'Adil	(3) 353-5						71-9									
Ibrāhīm	(4) 215-4						72-1	17-5								
Shāh Rukh	(5) 359		177-3		112		72	18-1								
Sulaimān II	(6) 359						69-2									
Isma'īl III	(7) 359		177-8					17-7								
Karīm Khān	(7a) 359		177-5	143-1	107-3		72-1	17-8	(7a) 68-1	48-3	25-2					
Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān	(7a) 359		179-8				68-4									
Āzād Khān	(7b) 359						69	12-2*								
Khān of Ganjah	(7c) 359						71-5	17-2								
Ṣādiq Khān	(8) 359		178-6					18-3								
'Alī Murād Khān	(8a) 359		178-4													
Ja'far Khān	(8) 359		179-7													
Aḳā Muḥammad Khān	(10) 359		177-8				71-2	18-5					(10a) 124-8	88-4		
Fath 'Alī Shāh	(11) 359		174-7					12-8*							(12) 234	
Muḥammad Shāh																
Hasan Khān Sulār																

The numbers in brackets show the chrono
 * Pierced coins.

2. Darband, 1154.

Obv.—B.M. 216.*Rev.*—

در
بند
ضرب
۱۱۵۴

R. 0.9. Wt. 176.5.

3. Kābul, 1151.

B.M. 224, but rev. ends—

ملکه دارالملک کابل

ضرب ۱۱۵۱

R. 1.05. Wt. 348.8.

4. Ganjah, 1155.

B.M. 244, but date ۱۱۵۵

R. 0.85. Wt. 69.9.

I find numerous varieties of B.M. 234 dated 1150, 1151, 1152.

‘ADİL SHĀH.

5. Isfahān, 1160.

Obv.—B.M. 277.*Rev.*—

بحکم
رایج لاهیجی
سکه سلطنت بنام علی
ضرب صفهان ۱۱۶۰

R. 0.85. Wt. 71.4.

6. Kazwīn, 1160.

Obv.—B.M. 277.*Rev.*—

رایج بحکم لاهیجی
سکه سلطنت بنام علی

ضرب قزوین ۱۱۶۰
R. 0.95. Wt. 67.4.

IBRĀHĪM.

7. Astarābād, date obliterated.

Obv.—Similar to B.M. 287—

هیم
ابرا
السلطان
ن

Rev.—B.M. 224, but استراباد and date obliterated.

R. 0·70. Wt. 71.

8. Iṣfahān, 1161.

Obv.—

ادر
حص
یا
صالرن

Rev.—

اصفهان
دار السلطنه
۱۱۶۱
ضرب

(pierced) R. 0·5. Wt. 16·8.

SHĀH RUKH.

9. Rasht, date obliterated.

Obv.—

[دو باره از سر]
دولت ایران گرفت جوارال
بزرگ شاه رخ زد سکه ران
صاحبقران

Rev.—Within ornamental border—

ش
دار المیزر
ضرب

R. 0·85. Wt. 171·4.

10. Kazwīn, date obliterated—

B.M. 315, but mint قزوین and date obliterated.

R. 0·85. Wt. 49·5.

11. Kazwīn, 1161.

Obv.—

لا اله الا الله
محمد
 رسول الله على ولي الله
 Margin: names of Imams.

Rev.—

تا زرو سیم در جهان باشد
سکه صا الزمان باشد
 ضرا قزوین ۱۱۶
 (twice pierced) R. 1. Wt. 68·3.

KĀRĪM KHĀN.

12. Rasht, 1178.

Obv.—B.M. 344.*Rev.*—

شد افتا و ماه زرو سیم
در جهان از سکه امام بحق صا الزمان
 ضر رشت
 and inserted thus—
 یا کریم
 صا الزمان
 R. 0·85. Wt. 70·7.

13. Rasht, 117x.

Obv.—B.M. 344.*Rev.*—

شد افتا و ماه زرو سیم در
جهان از سکه امام بحق صا
 الزمان ضرب شد

and *یا کریم* inserted thus—

یا بحق صا کریم
R. 0.9. Wt. 66.8.

14. *Shanākht*, 1178.

Obv.—B.M. 331.

Rev.—

یا کریم
شاه حسن
۸ ضرب ۱۱۷
پ
R. 0.75. Wt. 68.6.

15. *Kazwīn*, 1174.

Obv.—Similar to 13, but ends—

Rev.—Area—

Margin—

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله على ولي الله
(pierced) R. 0.95. Wt. 69.1.

16. *Ganjah*, 1187.

Obv.—B.M. 325.

Rev.—Within ornamental border—

۱۱۸۷
گنجاه
ضرب
(pierced) R. 1.05. Wt. 50.3.

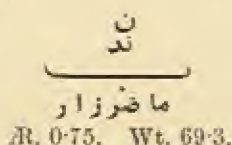
17. *Māzandarān*, 1178.

Obv.—B.M. 345.

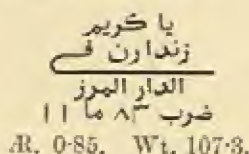
Rev.—Within ornamental border—

یا کریم
الله
محمد
حلد
۱۱۷۸
(pierced) R. 0.8. Wt. 69.9.

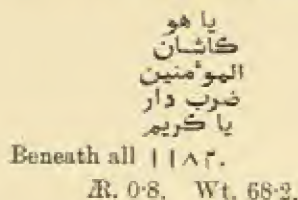
18. Māzandarān.

Obv.—B.M. 345.*Rev.*—

19. Māzandarān, 1183.

Obv.—B.M. 325.*Rev.*—Within ornamental lozenge.

20. Kāshān, 1182.

Obv.—B.M. 324.*Rev.*—Within border of many foils elongated above and below, on either side fleuron, and on either side of both fleurons, three pellets.

I find a great variety of coins of Karīm Khān the dates and mints of some of them being: Iṣfahān, 1173-1181; Tabriz, 1177-1186; Rasht, 1174-1185; Kāshān, 1175-1183; Shīrāz, 1170-1177; Tih-rān, 1178-1182; Kazwin, 1166 and 1174-1176; Yazd, 1179-1181; and Astarābād, 1177.

ŠĀDIK.

21. Tiflis, 1194.

B.M. 366, but date ۱۱۹۴ (pierced)

R. 0.75. Wt. 44.2.

22. Erivān, date obliterated.

Obv.—B.M. 424.*Rev.*—

شریف
وان
ضریریا

R. 0.75. (pierced) Wt. 45.3.

MUHAMMAD HASAN KHĀN.

22A. Rasht, 1168.

Obv.—B.M. 404.*Rev.*—

ش خدا بتو
ز یمن دین ر حق ایچ که
اقبال هر علی ناموسی مر
۱۱۶۸
ش
ضریر

R. 1. Wt. about 180.

I find also B.M. 410, but date 1171; and B.M. 411, but date 1169.

AḲĀ MUHAMMAD KHĀN.

23. Ganjah, 1208.

Obv.—

الله
یا علی و

Border of pyramids of dots.

Rev.—Within circle, above which —یا محمد

گنجہ

۱۳۰۸

۳ instead of ۲.

Æ. 1. Wt. 184

FATH 'ALĪ (BĀBĀ KHĀN).

24. Kāshān, 1212.

Obv.—

لله

ملک

سلطان بابا خا

ان ن ا

Rev.—

کاشان

دار المؤمنین

ضرب

۱۲۱۲

(twice pierced)

Æ. 0.7. Wt. 12.8.

FATH 'ALĪ SHĀH.

25. Urūmī, probably 1225.

Obv.—B.M. 464.

Rev.—

ضرب

ارومی

۱۲۲۵

سنه

Æ. 0.3. Wt. 156.4.

26. Urūmī, date obliterated.

Obv.—B.M. 525.

Rev.—

—

ضرب ارمو

Æ. 0.75. Wt. 105.7.

27. Burūjird, 1232.

Obv.—B.M. 464.

Rev.—

بروجرد

ضرب

۱۲۳۲

سنه

Æ. 0.8. Wt. about 142.

28. Burājird, 1241.

Obv.—B.M. 525.

Rev.—

بروجرد
دارالسرور
ضرب
۱۲۴۱

R. 0.85. Wt. about 108.

29. Burājird, 1243.

Similar, but reverse varied and date [۱۲۴۳].

R. 0.8. Wt. about 108.

30. Panāhābād, 1233.

Obv.—

لا اله الا الله على
محمد رسول الله
والله

Rev.—Within circle, arched above—

يا لله
ضر پناه آباد

۱۲۳۳

(pierced)

R. 0.9. Wt. 65.8.

31. Panāhābād, 1234.

Similar, but date ۱۲۳۴.

R. 0.9. Wt. 64.5.

32. Tūsirkān, 1242.

Obv.—B.M. 525.

Rev.—

ه تو سرکا
بلدی ن
ضرب
۱۲۴۲

R. 0.8. Wt. about 108.

33. Khūi, 1214.

Obv.—B.M. 488.

Rev.—Within circle, upper part of which is arched—

العزة لله
ضرخوی

۱۲۱۴

R. 0.95. Wt. 155.7.

34. Khūi, 1239.

Obv.—B.M. 464.*Rev.*—

—
 دار الصفا
 ضرب خوي
 ١٢٣٩

R. 0·9. Wt. 142.

35. Army mint, 1242.

Obv.—B.M. 525.*Rev.*—

—
 مبارکه رکا
 ضرابخانه
 ضرب
 ١٢٤٢

R. 0·85. Wt. about 108.

36. Marāghah, date obliterated.

Obv.—B.M. 488, but date obliterated—*Rev.*—

لله
 العزة
 مراغه
 —
 ضرب

R. 0·75. Wt. 74·6.

NOTE.—Gold ashrafis and silver rials or krans were struck at Lahijān and Fūman during the reign of Fath 'Alī Shāh. On these coins Lahijān has no prefix, but for Fūman we have فومن المبارك. In local histories Fūman, the former capital of Biah-pas, has the prefix دار الامارة and Lahijān, the former capital of Biah-pīsh, that of دار الامان.

H. L. RABINO.

MISCELLANEA.

FORGERIES FROM CAESAREA MAZACA.—Mr. Hasluck's note on the Kaisaryeh forgeries in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Ser. IV. Vol. X. pp. 411-412, may be supplemented by some further items of information in my possession. In June, 1908, a quantity of coins obtained in Kaisaryeh and the neighbourhood were submitted to me for examination; and they included several specimens of Mr. Hasluck's types 3 and 4, struck both in gold and in silver. There was also another type, with a tortoise on the obverse, and the floral device of types 2, 3, and 4 on the reverse, represented by two specimens in silver.

These coins had been bought at Kaisaryeh itself and at Killiz. I do not think they had reached Smyrna by November, 1908, as I made a fairly exhaustive search of the bazaars there during that month, and should have noticed at once any examples of these forgeries, which had interested me only a little while previously. It is rather curious that the chief output would appear to have been in copies of one of the commonest coins of Asia Minor—the fifth-century diobol of Miletus—genuine specimens of which can be obtained by the dozen at Smyrna or Constantinople at little more than metal value.

J. G. MILNE.

HOARD OF SILVER COINS OF KNIDOS.—A small hoard of third-century silver coins of Knidos recently came into my possession; and though there are no novel types, most of the magistrates' names appear to be unpublished for this series, so that it is worth while to record them. I have not been able to learn whether the eighteen coins published here formed the whole of the hoard: they were all that reached the Smyrna dealer from whom I got them.

In the following list are given, with the magistrates' names, the sizes and weights of the specimens.

Tetrobols.

(a) *Obv.*—Bust of Artemis r., wearing stephane, drapery round neck: bow and quiver at shoulder.

Rev.—Tripod: on r., downwards, ΚΝΙΔΙΩΝ: on l., downwards, magistrate's name.

1. ΑΡΙΞΤΟΚΛΕΙΔ[ΗΞ]	14 mm.	2.48 grammes	
2. [Θ]ΕΥΤΕΛΗΞ . . .	15 "	2.43 "	
3. ΘΕΥΤΕΛΗΞ . . .	16 "	2.42 "	
4. ΙΠΠΟΚΡΑΤΗ[Ξ] . . .	15 "	2.26 "	
5. ΚΑΛΛΙΠΠΟΞ . . .	15 "	2.08 "	(slightly chipped)
6. ΚΛΕΥΜΒΡΟΤΟΞ . . .	15 "	2.42 "	
7. ΚΛΕΥΜΒΡΟΤΟ[Ξ] . . .	15 "	2.39 "	

(b) *Obv.*—Head of Artemis r., wearing stephane: quiver at shoulder.

Rev.—As (a).

8. ΑΓΙΑΞ	14 mm.	2.35 grammes	
9. ΔΙΟΚΛΗΞ	13 "	2.38 "	
10. ΕΠΙΓΕΝΗΞ	14 "	2.54 "	
11. ΕΠΙΓΟΝΟΞ	14 "	2.50 "	
12. ΕΠΙΩΝ	14 "	2.56 "	
13. ΙΣΤΙΑΔΑΣ	14 "	2.38 "	
14. ΤΕΛΕΞΙΠΠΟ[Ξ] . . .	15 "	2.46 "	
15. ΦΙΛΟΚΛΗΞ	13 "	2.49 "	

Diobols.

Obv.—Head of Aphrodite r., hair rolled under diadem: border of dots.

Rev.—Head and neck of bull r., head turned to front: above, ΚΝΙ, on l. downwards and curving below, magistrate's name.

16. ΑΓΗΞΙΚΛΗΞ . . .	12 mm.	1.21 grammes.	
17. ΜΝΑΞΙΘΕΟΞ . . .	12 "	1.14 "	
18. ΞΩΞΤΡΑΤΟΞ . . .	12 "	1.26 "	

The style of the tetrobols of series (a) is distinctly better than that of series (b). The coins No. 3 (of Theuteles) and No. 4 (of Hippokrates) are struck from the same obverse die. I am inclined to think that the obverse die of No. 14 (of Telesippos) was touched up after considerable wear and used for No. 12 (of Epion).

J. G. MILNE.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Numismata Graeca. Greek Coin-Types classified for immediate identification by L. Anson. Summary and Plates of Part I. (Industry: Vases, Recipients, Tripods, &c.). Part I.: Industry (Plates i.-xxvii.); Part II.: War (Plates i.-xxv.); Part III.: Agriculture (Plates i.-xxx.); Part IV.: Religion (Plates i.-xxi.). London: L. Anson, 61, Regent Street, W. 14s. (17'50 fr.) each part.

THE author and publisher of this work has conceived the excellent idea of a type-index of Greek coins, fully illustrated and arranged under subjects. Opinions may differ widely about what would have been precisely the best method of carrying it out; and it would be very easy to pick holes in the scholarship and execution of the volumes before us, on the ground of errors of commission as well as omission. We prefer to point out that the work will undoubtedly be of extreme use to collectors, and also to scientific students, not only of numismatics, but of archaeology in general. Any one, for instance, who wants to see illustrations of vase-forms will find in Part I. over 600 illustrations. Many of these forms, it is true, are the same; and we think that even from the point of view of the collector, who wants to identify his particular variety with the least possible reference to other books, Mr. Anson has given too many illustrations of closely similar coins. An excellent feature, which doubles the facility of identification of particular coins, is that, wherever possible, both sides of each coin are reproduced. The parts before us are limited to inanimate objects; two more parts will complete this section. The descriptive text is to be published separately. Mr. Anson's real troubles will begin when he comes to deal with representations of human beings and gods; and we should advise him to enlist the services of a trained numismatist and classical scholar.

G. F. H.

Le Monete et le Bolle Plumbee Pontificie del Medagliere Vaticano descritte ed illustrate da Camillo Serajini, &c. Vol. prim. LXII. Tavole. Ulrico Hoepli, Milano. MCMX.

IT is a somewhat remarkable coincidence that the two most important works on Italian coins of modern times should appear simultaneously. The other work to which we refer is

the first volume of the *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum* just issued by His Majesty the King of Italy, and which was noticed in the last number of the *Numismatic Chronicle*. In their form of issue the two works are of great similarity. The respective volumes are of the same size, and the descriptions of the coins are given in the same manner. The subject-matter is, however, different. In the case of the *Corpus*, the description of the coins extends over a long period of years, though confined to one particular series, viz. the coinage of the House of Savoy. In the case of the volume before us one series of coins also is treated of, but being of far greater extent only a portion of it has been dealt with; the remainder will be described in future volumes. Intermixed with the coins there are also described the Papal bullae. These not only cover the whole period of the coinage, but even their issues preceding it. Between these bullae and the coinage there is no connexion, and we cannot help thinking that it was a mistake to mix up the two series. The bullae should have formed a separate volume, and the same principle should have been adopted for their description as has been done in the case of their illustration.

First of all as to the general order of the work. The coins and bullae of each Pope are described separately, the former preceding the latter. The coins are given after their metal, denomination, description, weight, size, and preservation. Coins of one denomination of a pontificate are classed together irrespective of the year of their issue. To have attempted a strictly chronological order of the various denominations and metals would have made reference to the work almost impossible, so that the order given is by far the most useful for general reference, if not entirely scientific. The next division is that of the various mints. There were two ways of dealing with these—alphabetical or topographical. For convenience of reference we should have preferred the former, but Cav. Serafini has adopted the latter. Naturally the coinage of Rome stands first, and then follow those of Umbria, Marche, Abruzzo, Romagna, &c. In the description of the coins no one particular type has been adopted, and so far as possible the standard founts have been used which nearest in style resemble the forms of the letters in the legends. To use one fount throughout and to print legends in purely Roman characters when the Lombardic letters are found on the coins is not a good method and is somewhat distracting to the student. To give all the "peculiarities" would be impossible; Cav. Serafini has therefore shown good judgment in selecting founts, not too numerous, which give a good idea of the letters on the coins.

The next point which we have to notice is that of the "notes" on the coinage. For reasons of "symmetry" these "notes," which supply the most valuable information respecting the history of the coinage, are placed together after the description of the coins. To give them their proper value the "notes" should have been incorporated with the description of the coins, and from experience we venture to think that it would not have made the pages look unsymmetrical, but on the other hand it would have relieved the tabulated form, and so obviated to some extent the monotony of the classification. In any case references to the notes should have been given in the text. The omission of these is somewhat serious and a little inconvenient.

Turning to the coins themselves, Cav. Serafini estimates that the Papal Series in the Vatican Collection numbers about 15,000 pieces. As the work will occupy three volumes, we conclude that about one-third are described in the first one. The series begins with Gregory III (A.D. 731-741), and with a few breaks, more especially from the eleventh to the fourteenth century when the coinage was supplied by the Roman Senate, it is continuous down to Pius IX. At first the types are of a conventional nature, and in the main are similar to those of the Carolingian Series; but in the ninth century, under Stephen VI, the head of St. Peter occurs occasionally; but no material changes are noticeable till the introduction of the Roman Senate money (c. A.D. 1184), when all convention is thrown aside, and no limit appears to have been exercised. Models were sought for everywhere, not only in the coinages of other States of Italy, but also in those of the East. A careful study of this series in this particular would be most instructive and interesting, and would provide ample material for many a treatise. When, after the accession of Boniface VIII, the Papal coinage was resumed, this variation in type was continued.

True portraiture appears to have had its origin under Sextus IV (1471-1484), when we meet with that Pope's bust executed in the most artistic style of the fifteenth century. Cav. Serafini does not refer to it in his notes, but the records of the mint would no doubt reveal the name of the artist. This is an event which should certainly be put on record. It is also quite possible that these coins influenced the types of the English money, though it was not for nearly thirty years later that Henry VII put his true portrait on the coinage. It seems possible to trace an artistic similarity between the Papal and the English coinages in this important change. To analyze in the most superficial manner a hundredth part

of the types would exceed the space of this notice, and we can only call attention to them in a very cursory manner. The work is copiously illustrated, so that any one interested in the series has ample material for his guidance without examining the coins themselves. We must not omit to draw attention to the Introduction, which supplies a complete history of the collection. It has been written by Mons. Stanislas le Grelle, of the Vatican Library. Like all national or quasi-national collections, that of the Vatican had a somewhat slow growth, its foundation being laid so early as the beginning of the seventeenth century. In the beginning of the nineteenth century its interest attracted the attention of Napoleon I, who had it conveyed to Paris. It was, however, subsequently returned, but the double transit was almost fatal, a considerable portion being lost sight of or at least not traceable. The part relating to the Papal Series seems to have received its main contributions in more recent times.

We need scarcely add that this work will prove invaluable, not only to the student of numismatics, but also to the historian and, as it progresses, to the artist. We can well congratulate Cav. Serafini at having so far carried out in a successful manner his laborious task.

H. A. G.

W. H. Valentine: *Modern Copper Coins of the Muhammadan States*. With 78 plates and 6 maps. London: Spink and Co. 1911. 10s. 6d.

ORIENTAL copper coins, though by no means lacking in historical interest, offer little attraction to the collector, and have been much neglected by writers on Oriental numismatics. The object of Mr. Valentine's book is to supply a handy guide to Oriental copper coins which will enable any one, though ignorant of Arabic, to identify any specimens he may have. The author's aim has been to illustrate every coin he could obtain access to and to supply it, not only with a transcription of its legends, but also with transliteration and translation. He has spent some years collecting material for the work, which is based on the British Museum Collection, and a number of private collections, of which the most notable are those of Mr. D. P. Howorth and of Mr. Howland Wood. The coins have all been carefully and, judging from the specimens we are acquainted with, very faithfully drawn. The cost of producing such a work as this in the ordinary way would have been prohibitive. The whole work, text as

well as plates, has therefore been lithographed, and we thus have a work illustrating over a thousand coins with legends in the Arabic character at a most reasonable price.

The plan of the work is strictly geographical, following modern political divisions. It is divided into a number of sections each of which has a brief historical introduction and a map illustrating the mints. The title "Modern" coins gives rather too limited an idea of the scope of a work which in the Othmanli series begins with the coinage of Murad I in the fourteenth century, and covers the whole Muhammadan world for the last three centuries, with the exception of India, with which it is proposed to deal in a separate volume.

The Othmanli section is one of the most valuable in the book, though it is unfortunate that the author has not here relaxed his rigid geographical arrangement a little, as we have the coins of the same Sultan in five or six different sections, and such coins as the autonomous Persian of Baghdad appear out of place in a plate of Turkish coins, though they are correctly attributed in the text. On the whole the author's arrangement has the merits of simplicity and uniformity, and is certainly the best for the class of reader for whom the book is primarily intended. The coins of the petty dynasts of South Arabia are very interesting, in particular the coins of Kharfa and Tarim. The account of the coins of Georgia will be of value, though they do not strictly fall within the title of the book. In the long series of coins of Persia and Afghanistan, collectors will find the solutions of many of their puzzles; the concluding section of the book gives the first full account of the bilingual and trilingual coins of Chinese Turkestan.

Besides the usual indices the work contains a list of mints, numerous genealogical lists, metrological notes, tables of alphabets and numerals, and a glossary. It is of course inevitable that a book of this kind covering such a wide field should be quite free from slips, as lithography does not permit of correction in proof, but the few that we have noticed are of quite minor importance. The book is much more than a mere catalogue of coins; it is planned to be an introductory text book for the study of Muhammadan coins, and as such it is to be heartily recommended to all who desire to take up this fascinating study. It will be found indispensable to the collector of Oriental coins, and we hope Mr. Valentine will soon give us a similar volume on the Muhammadan coins of India.

J. A.

H. A. Ramsden : *Corean Coin-charms and Amulets*.
Yokohama. 1910.

This interesting little book will be welcomed by all interested in the numismatics of the Far East, as filling up the last serious gap in the literature of that field. Chinese charms and amulets, or "temple money," as they are popularly called, have been well illustrated by Chaudoir and Lockhart among European writers, but the Corean pieces have been neglected or confused with the Chinese. Mr. Ramsden has been careful to confine himself to specimens which he knows are actually used in Corea, and has been able to illustrate nearly 200 specimens. These pieces are distinguished from the Chinese by their quaint shapes and more artistic designs and delicate workmanship; indeed, they display a striking originality and seem to owe but little to Chinese influence. We must congratulate Mr. Ramsden on his valuable monograph, and would suggest to him that a work on the same scale on Chinese amulets would be welcomed by numismatists, as, though many have been published, no one has attempted a scientific classification of them or given an account of their uses.

J. A.

X.

A NEW JEWISH TETRADRACHM.



Obv.—Four pillars of shittim wood overlaid with gold for the veil before the Holy of Holies in the Tabernacle. Within, the ark and mercy-seat, symbolically represented. Above, symbolical representation of the pillar of fire; all within border of dots.

ה' א' ס' ט' = שמעון = Simon.

Rev.—On r. a lulab or bundle of fruits; on l. ethrog or citron; border of dots.

ל' ת' ר' ק' = ל' ת' ר' ק' = לתרוה ירושלם =
= the deliverance of Jerusalem.

Wt. 215·6 grs. Size, 1 inch.

Provenance, Jerusalem.

(?) Traces of overstriking.

THIS variety of the tetradrachm of Simon Bar Cochab, issued during the time of the second Revolt, is of great importance. It came into my cabinet through the kindness of Mr. A. H. Baldwin, and hitherto has not been published in England.

There are three similar specimens in the Hamburger collection of Jewish coins, lately acquired by the British Museum.

One of these is overstruck upon a tetradrachm of
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Antioch with remains of the name of Trajan; a second presents a curious mistake in the name "Jerusalem," which reads $\Upsilon \omega \tau \eta \rho \Sigma$ = $\Upsilon \rho \iota \sigma \eta \mu$, the *lamed* being omitted.

The interpretation of the type deserves a word of explanation. Taking the reverse first, because there is no difficulty, the bundle of fruits was carried in the right hand, the citron in the left, by the faithful at the Feast of Tabernacles (Lev. xxiii. 40, R.V., and Midrash Vayyekra Rabba, 30).

The interpretation of the obverse is the carrying out of a hint given me by Mr. G. F. Hill. It is usual to find some sort of representation of a temple, tetrastyle or hexastyle, upon coins of this date, with the deity of the cultus in the centre of the piece. The Jews would naturally find a difficulty here. They could not represent Jehovah, and the result is the curious object which this variety and the rest of the series present. The most popular interpretation has been that it is a door, and represents the Beautiful Gate of the Temple, and any illustration of the tomb of Darius at Persepolis would confirm this. But the fatal objection is that in Simon's time the Temple was destroyed, and there would be no particular point in rallying the Jews around a building which was associated alike with a previous disaster and with the hated name of Herod. The further opinion of Cavedoni and others, that it was the sacrarium of a Jewish synagogue with the aron or ark containing the sacred books, must be rejected, as Dr. Churchill Babington pointed out, because the ark with the sacred books was itself formed like a Temple, and the books were plainly visible through the glass, from the evidence of the Catacombs.

Neither of these interpretations is free from difficulties.

I suggest instead that the four pillars are the pillars which separated the Holy Place from the Holy of Holies in the Tabernacle and not in the Temple. These were in fact four, as is clear from Exod. xxvi. 31, 32.

The object within is the ark and mercy-seat, and the curve at the top symbolically represents the meeting of the wings of the cherubim, which is here expressed delicately and without offending any Jewish proprieties. The two dots are the ends of the staves upon which the ark is carried when Israel journeyed. The wavy line above is equally a symbolical representation of the cloud by day and pillar of fire by night, which overhung the Tabernacle (Exod. xl. 38).

All this fits in with the idea of the Tabernacle, and is the Jewish method of expressing the ordinary type of Temple and cultus coins.

But the importance of the coin lies, further, in the assistance it gives to a logical and chronological attribution of these tetradrachms. All the remainder of the series are exactly the same in type, except that on the obverse a star takes the place of the wavy line above the four pillars, and in the case of those dated the first year there is no such adjunct. It is natural to find in this star a reference to Simon's name, Bar Cochab, the son of a star.

With M. Reinach I would assign them all to the second Revolt, and the overstruck coins of Trajan confirm this. It is almost inconceivable to imagine that a Simon and Eleasar from 66 A.D. to 70 A.D. struck coins, and that these were imitated by another Simon and Eleasar from 132 A.D. to 135 A.D. The whole science of Numismatics

does not contain any such desperately artificial attempt as the impossible one to divide up coins bearing the name of Simon and Eleasar into two such widely separated epochs as the first and second revolts of the doomed Jews.

Our tetradrachm suggests a natural sequence.

The tetradrachms bearing the legend on the obverse,
 י ל ו א פ ק ז = ירושלם = Jerusalem; and the reverse,

ל פ ק ו ז י ל פ ז ל א ב ז א ז ו

= שנת אהת לנאלת ישראל = first year of the redemption of Israel, belong to the year 132 A.D., when Simon had not made good his supreme claim as leader.

To the year 133 A.D. I would assign the tetradrachms bearing the date פ ו, year 2, and reading, obverse,

ז א ס ז ו = שמעון = Simon; and reverse —

י ל ו א פ ק ז א ז א ב ז ל פ ו = שנת אהת לנאלת ירושלם

= second year of the deliverance of Jerusalem; to the following year the undated tetradrachms, still presenting the star, and to his final issue, say early in 135 A.D., the tetradrachm, which I have described in this paper, when Simon's popularity was on the wane, and every adventitious aid was needful for his cause, until at last victory was impossible for the Jews, and Simon's defeat handed him down to posterity the discredited Messiah, Bar Koziba, son of a lie.

I am confirmed in this opinion by the fact that, like the dated coins of the second year, the word אהת is used instead of לנאלת. These are then the last Jewish coins ever issued, for immediately afterwards the doom of the nation was complete and the prophecies of woe fulfilled.

EDGAR ROGERS.

XI.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE EASTERN CAMPAIGNS OF THE EMPEROR LUCIUS VERUS.

(See Plates XII. and XIII.)

THE coins of the Emperors, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Aurelius Verus, are fully dated by their tribunician years. I accept Mommsen's view that the tribunician year of Marcus, as of all emperors since Trajan, began with December 10,¹ and that although Verus received the *tribunicia potestas* in March, the first year of its tenure was held to close on December 9, 161, thus bringing his dating into line with that of his colleague.

The coins of Marcus, bearing the date TR. POT. XV, and those of Verus with TR. POT.—the coins, that is, of the first year of their joint reign, March–December, 161 P.C.—are entirely occupied with types that concern the accession of the emperors. The most notable are those which bear the inscription CONCORDIAE AVGVSTOR(um),² commemorating the first division of the

NOTE.—In the articles dealing with the reign of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, I wish to acknowledge my debt to my friend and former tutor, Mr. A. S. L. Farquharson, of University College, Oxford, who both helped with suggestions and kindly permitted me to draw upon the literary and epigraphic material collected for his forthcoming monograph on this emperor.—C. H. D.

¹ Where special accuracy is not required, I commonly speak of (e.g.) 162 as identical with the tribunician year, December 10, 161–December 9, 162. In one or two cases the odd month makes a difference to the calculation.

² See Cohen, vol. iii., *Marc-Aurèle*, 69, &c.; *L. Verus*, 44, &c.; cf. Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 89.

imperial power between the two "*fratres concordēs*," and those which represent the emperors presiding at a *Congiarium*, inscribed LIB(eralitas) AVGVSTOR(um),³ and recording the dole given to the people in connexion with the accession of the new rulers. There is no trace on the coins of any wars or rumours of wars.

It is not until the next tribunician year, December 10, 161-162 P.C., that any special types make their appearance, which suggest a reference to military affairs. For this year there is a gold coin of Verus, which I describe from a specimen in the British Museum :⁴

Obv.—IMP. CAES. L. VERVS AVG. Bust facing r., paludate.

Rev.—PROFECTIO AVG. TR. P. II. (on margin). COS. II. (in exergue). Emperor, paludate, on horseback to r., holding spear in r. hand.

A/.

The significance of this type is quite clear. The Emperor L. Verus is setting out on an expedition. We need have no hesitation in referring the coin to the "*Expeditio Orientalis*."⁵ There are, as we should expect, no coins of Marcus with this reverse, but on a large bronze medallion of his occurs an obviously kindred type.⁶

Obv.—IMP. CAES. M. AVREL. ANTONINVS AVG. P.M. TR. P. XVI. COS. III. Bust r., laureate, loricæ, paludate.

Rev.—No inscription. The two emperors, loricæ and paludate, on horseback, cantering r.; Marcus

³ See Cohen, vol. iii., *M.-A.*, 401-406; *L. V.*, 116-118; cf. Eckhel, vol. vii. pp. 49, 89.

⁴ Cf. Cohen, *L. V.*, 132-138.

⁵ Cf. *C. I. L.*, III. 7505 (a veteran of Leg. V, Macedonica) "*FVNCT(us) EXpediT(ione) ORIENTALI SVB STat(io) PrISCO, IVL(io) SEVERO, Mart(io) Vero C(larissimis) V(iris)*."

⁶ This medallion is not in Cohen; I describe a fine specimen in the Kgl. Münzkabinett, Berlin.

apparently is the one nearer the spectator and slightly in advance, Verus riding to the l. of his colleague, and slightly to the rear; each emperor holds a spear in r. hand; they are preceded by a soldier, equipped with loric, spear, and shield, who marches r., but looks back towards the emperors.

Æ^m.

This is clearly, in spite of the absence of an explanatory inscription, a PROPECTIO type. Now in the Life of Marcus by Capitolinus,⁷ we have a narrative of the events connected with the departure of Verus. After the senate had agreed to the mission of Verus to the East, both emperors left the city together, and arrived at Capua. Marcus then returned to Rome; Verus proceeded, but had got no further than Canusium when he fell ill. Marcus took vows in the senate for his colleague's recovery, and hastened after him. Hearing, however, that Verus had already set sail, he returned to Rome and duly paid his vows. The principal points of this narrative reappear in the Life of Verus.⁸ We shall not be far wrong, therefore, in attributing this medallion to the ceremonious departure of the two emperors from the city, "*amicis comitantibus a senatu, additis officiorum omnium principibus.*" Eckhel⁹ sees a memorial of the vows for Verus' health in the following type, which is fairly common in gold and bronze, and which I describe from a gold coin of Marcus at Berlin :

Obv.—IMP. M. AVREL. ANTONINVS AVG. P.M. Bust r.,
paludate, loricate.

⁷ *Historia Augusta*, iv. 8, §§ 9-11.

⁸ *Hist. Aug.*, v. 6, § 7.

⁹ Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 49; for the type cf. Cohen, *M.-A.*, 553-557.

Rev.—SALVTI AVGVSTOR. TR. P. XVI. (margin). COS. III. (exergue). Female figure, wearing στέφανος, long χιτών, and ἱμάτιον, standing l., holding in l. hand sceptre, in r. hand *patera*, from which she feeds a snake coiled about a garlanded altar of columnar form.

ΑΥ.

It is certainly tempting to see in the appearance of this *Salus*-type just at this time a trace of the incident recorded by Capitolinus. The fact that the dedication is "to the Health of the Emperors" (both of them) is no objection to this interpretation, for the persons of the two rulers very largely coalesce for public purposes, and would almost certainly do so in a religious ceremony. Nor again, I think, is the interpretation necessarily invalidated by the fact that the same type is found with an obverse of Verus¹⁰ (as, for example, on a gold coin in the British Museum). But I feel doubtful whether on the coins Ὑγία-Salus can always be kept strictly to her proper sphere, of healing actual bodily disease. The recurrence of the type is rather too frequent for such a significance always to be found. Verus' restoration to health might possibly be alluded to in the type of FORTVNA REDVX which occurs on his types alone for this year.¹¹ The "Returning Fortune" (or "Returned Fortune"; or is "*Redux*" active in sense?) might perhaps be the health of the emperor recovered in answer to his brother's vows. But this type appears very frequently, and its significance is not always clear. I do not think it would be possible to limit it to any one particular meaning. It denotes in general that things

¹⁰ Cf. Cohen, *L. V.*, 169; and the medallion of Verus, 347, with Salus and Aesculapius.

¹¹ See Cohen, *L. V.*, 86-91.

are taking a turn for the better, in whatever connexion it may be. The one *impossible* interpretation is the received one which connects it always with the return of an emperor to Rome. Here it would fit the circumstances, for Marcus did return to Rome twice during the year (though why celebrate such very unimportant "returns," and if they must be celebrated, why record them only on the coins of the emperor who did *not* return?); but it is not possible to work it out consistently. Apart from other considerations, it would be quite impossible to bring the emperors from the ends of the earth with sufficient frequency and rapidity to save the credit of the coins as historical documents.

I do not think, then, that it is safe to find a definite record of the events narrated by the biographers in any of the coins of this year except the medallion of Marcus with the riding emperors, and the *PROFECTIO* coins of Verus. The latter might cause some difficulty. We have already decided that the medallion of Marcus represents the departure of the emperors from Rome. What "*Profectio*," then, is recorded on the coins of Verus, where he appears alone? The only "*profectiones*" of the younger emperor alone would be from Capua after Marcus had left him, from Canusium after his recovery, and the final departure from Italy for the East.¹² But the last "*profectio*" would be by ship and not on horseback, while the others would be perfectly unceremonious affairs, without any claim to be recorded on coins. But to ask for a definite incident or scene of which the coin-type is a true picture is to demand a realism which has

¹² It was probably from Hydruntum; see *Corpus regni Neapolitani*, 448, ap. Napp, *De Rebus imperatore M. Aurelio Antonino in Oriente gestis*: p. 105.

no place in numismatic art, and to neglect the true symbolic character of coin-types. Eckhel seems to be slightly guilty of this mistake—which it is very difficult to avoid in seeking to find history in the coins—when in speaking of this type continued into the next year (for this year he does not know it) he asks whether the “*profectio*” is from Rome for the East or from Antioch for the Euphrates.¹³ I should say rather that this coin simply *records the fact that* the emperor received a mission to the East, and does not *represent* (in any pictorial or quasi-pictorial sense) his actual departure. If one desires to attach it to a definite and particular historical event, one would not be far wrong in saying that it commemorates the *senatus consultum*—“*ut Imp. Caes. L. Verus Aug. ad Parthicum Bellum proficiscatur*,” if one may invent the text of such a decree from the words of Capitolinus. The medallion of Marcus stands on a somewhat different level. Occasionally we find that events regarded as unusually important receive an additional and special commemoration in a type which approaches more nearly to a picture. Such types occur especially on the large bronze medallions, which are without the letters S. C. (Eckhel’s *Aes maximi moduli*, here Æ^m). Even in such cases of course the symbolical character is by no means lost: in the present example the single soldier symbolizes the whole body of troops which marched out with the emperors; and in most cases this symbolical element is still stronger. Here it is quite appropriate that Verus strikes the coin recording the fact of his mission to the East, while Marcus strikes the medallion which commemorates his own part in accompanying his colleague

¹³ Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 90.

("Verum . . . prosecutus ornavit"), by a type representing (in a sense) the scene of their departure.

From the coins, then, we can definitely date Verus' departure from the city for the East to his second tribunician year, 162 P.C. The time of year we cannot gather from the same source. But it is not until the next year, 163, that we have a record of his arrival in an interesting bronze coin : ¹⁴

Obv.—IMP. CAES. L. AVREL. VERVS AVG. Bust r. (seen from back), laureate, loricæ.

Rev.—FELIC. AVG. TR. P. III. (margin). COS. II. (exergue)
S. C. Galley rowed over waves l. ; it is manned by 4 rowers (though many more oars are visible!) and a steersman who sits l. in the stern ; upon the stern are two military standards, and by the prow an object which might be a small sail on a mast (as Cohen), or a *vexillum*.

Æ¹.

There is no difficulty in finding here a record of the emperor's prosperous voyage to the East. The route he took, judging from the narrative in Capitolinus' Life,¹⁵ was probably by ship to Corinth, thence across the Isthmus to Athens, and then by ship over the Aegean and along the coasts of Asia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia to Antioch. The coin would probably be struck immediately the news of his safe arrival in Syria reached Rome. We may therefore reasonably date his landing at the very end of the shipping season in 162.¹⁶ That he was still at Rome on March 28 of that year would appear from Fronto.¹⁷ He probably left not much later. The

¹⁴ Cf. Cohen, *L. V.*, 69-84 ; Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 90.

¹⁵ *Hist. Aug.*, v. 6, § 9.

¹⁶ That he was already there before the end of 162 appears from *C. I. L.*, iii. 129, ap. Napp, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

¹⁷ Ed. Naber, p. 118.

sickness at Canusium, the hunting in Apulia, and the festivities in the cities of Greece and Asia Minor,¹⁸ would account for the remainder of the period during which navigation was continued. It was therefore too late to commence a campaign in 162. But the year, we may suspect, was not wasted by the military authorities, even if it was by the pleasure-loving emperor. The disaster to Severianus at Elegeia had taken place before Verus left Rome; ¹⁹ the defeat of Attidius Cornelianus in Syria probably took place early in this year.²⁰ No doubt the time Verus spent on the outward voyage was devoted to bringing up to the front the legions which we know to have been transferred from the West for this purpose to the Eastern frontier, and to beginning, at any rate, the process of restoring discipline among the legions of the East which we should have known in any case to have been necessary, and which has also left its trace on the literary authorities in the perverted narrative of Vuleacius Gallicanus.²¹

It was in 163 that the operations began. Cohen gives a coin ²² bearing the inscription TR. POT. III. COS. II., and ADLOCVT., with a type representing the emperor addressing five soldiers. The *Allocutio* is the familiar symbol of the commencement of a campaign. Such is its use on Trajan's column, for example, and elsewhere. The beginning of the first campaign of the war therefore falls in 163. To obtain further details of it we have to look to a comparatively few coins, all of the same or closely similar type, belonging, we may assume, to the

¹⁸ *Hist. Aug.*, v. 6, §§ 7-9.

¹⁹ Dio Cassius, lxxi. 2; cf. Fronto, p. 209.

²⁰ *Hist. Aug.*, iv. 8, § 6; v. 6, § 9.

²¹ *Ibid.*, vi. 3, § 8-6, § 5.

²² Cohen, *L. V.*, 1-3.

very close of the year. These coins are struck in the name of Verus only, in all metals, but predominantly in silver and gold. The distinguishing marks of all are the addition of the titles ARMENIACVS and IMP. II. to the emperor's name, and a type, of which the main motive is the same throughout—an Oriental figure seated in an attitude of grief, surrounded by the symbols of defeat. The proportion of these coins to those with TR. POT. III. and without IMP. II. in the Berlin Collection (taking this as typical) is as 8 : 19. They were therefore minted, presumably, near the end of the year, very near the end, since the types are so closely uniform.²³ Some of them, at any rate, were certainly minted at Rome, as they include bronze coins. Allowing, therefore, for the necessary interval, we are brought to a date about September for the event which gave rise to the types. At this point I will describe the main varieties, from specimens in London and Berlin : ²⁴

Obv.—L. VERVS AVG. ARMENIACVS Bust r., loricate, paludate.

Rev.—TR. P. III. IMP. II. COS. II. (margin). ARMEN. (exergue) [sometimes]. Female figure, wearing Oriental headdress (tiara), short tunic, and trousers, seated l. on the ground ; the head rests on the r. hand, the r. elbow on the r. knee ; the l. hand rests upon a bow and quiver lying together on the ground ;²⁵ to r. in the background, a trophy.

A/.

[Pl. XII. 1.]

²³ The proportion cannot be transferred directly to the year, for on the introduction of a new type there would probably be a considerable batch of the new coins struck, and the output would be greater than during the later months of the old types.

²⁴ Cf. Cohen, vol. iii., *L. V.*, 4, 5 ; also 219.

²⁵ Eckhel (vol. vii. p. 90) describes a type in which the hand rests on a prow. Cohen gives no such type, and from an examination of the

Obv.—L. VERVS AVG. ARMENIACVS Head r., bare.

Rev.—TR. P. III. IMP. II. COS. II. (margin). ARMEN. (exergue) [sometimes]. The same female figure seated l. in the same attitude of grief; in the background, to l., shield and *vexillum*; on some specimens, traces of other arms lying about.

R.

Obv.—L. VERVS AVG. ARMENIACVS Head r., bare.

Rev.—TR. P. III. IMP. II. COS. II. (margin). ARMEN. (exergue) S. C. The same female figure, seated l., in the same attitude of grief, l. hand resting on ground (without bow and quiver); in background, to r., trophy, to l. shield and *vexillum*.

Æ³ (rare).

On some of the bronze coins (especially the large bronze) this type appears worked into an effective complex design. Cohen gives such a coin for this year.²⁰ I describe the type from a specimen in the Paris Cabinet.

Obv.—IMP. CAES. L. AVREL. VERVS AVG. ARMENIACVS Head r., laureate.

Rev.—VICT. AVG. TR. P. III. IMP. II. COS. II. S. C. Female figure as above, seated r., in attitude of grief as above; in background, shield; to l. Victory (winged female figure) clad in *στρίδαρος* and *χίτων*, standing r., holding in both hands a trophy.

Æ¹.

[Pl. XII. 2.]

specimens at London and Berlin, I am convinced that it was this bow and quiver that misled Eckhel. Without being acquainted with the upper course of the Euphrates, I imagine that the theory of a naval battle, between Elegia and Samosata, will hardly commend itself! And nowhere else could a naval victory affect Armenia.

²⁰ Cohen, *L. V.*, 330.

This series of types is perfectly clear. On all of them appears the weeping Armenia, with various symbols of a Roman victory.

The year therefore was occupied with a campaign in Armenia, which in autumn ended in a "Victory of Augustus" (VICT. AVG.), for which Verus received the *Salutatio imperatoria*, and assumed the name Armeniacus. We may compare the coins of Trajan with DAC(ia) CAP(ta)²⁷ and PARTHIA CAPTA,²⁸ celebrating successful campaigns in Dacia and Parthia. On the coins of Marcus these distinctive types are missing, together with the surname ARMENIACVS.²⁹ But the title IMP. II. is found, both with the current types of Concordia,³⁰ Providentia,³¹ and Salus,³² and with special types connected with Victory. The occurrence of such types in the present year I accept from Cohen;³³ I describe them from specimens otherwise dated which I have seen :

Obv.—M. AVREL. ANTONINVS AVG. P. M. Head r., laureate.

Rev.—TR. P. XVII. IMP. II. COS. III. (margin) S. C.
Victory in στέφανος and χιτών, advancing l., holding in r. hand wreath, in l. hand palm-branch.

Æ¹.

²⁷ Cohen, vol. ii., *Trajan*, 117-121.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 184.

²⁹ Cohen gave in his first edition (vol. ii., *M.-A.*, 745-747) three coins with ARMENIACVS dated to this year. These are not repeated in the later edition; in their place in the catalogue come three with the same types and without ARMENIACVS (828-830). Clearly the first description was a mere error. The literary authorities allow for an interval between the assumption of the title by Verus and its adoption by Marcus: *Hist. Aug.*, iv. 9, § 1.

³⁰ Cohen, vol. iii., *M.-A.*, 42.

³² *Ibid.*, 522 *sqq.*

³¹ *Ibid.*, 559 *sqq.*

³³ *Ibid.*, 828-9 and 830 *sqq.*

Obv.—M. AVREL. ANTONINVS AVG. P. M. Head r., laureate, or radiate.

Rev.—TR. P. XVII IMP. II. COS. III. (margin) S. C. Warrior with helmet, lorica, and boots, armed with a *parazonium*, running l., holding in r. hand a small figure of Victory, in l. hand trophy (over l. shoulder).

Æ¹ and 2.

[Pl. XII 3.]

About the former of these there is no difficulty at all. It is the most general and indefinite Victory-type in use, consisting simply in a figure of Νίκη-Victoria, with her attributes. The other type deserves some slight comment. The warrior fully armed is a figure found in various types. As a typical warrior we shall not be wrong in seeing in him Mars, the personification of War. Here he is equipped with the attributes of Victory—a trophy and a small figure of Νίκη-Victoria. He is therefore Victorious War—Mars Victor. The type appears as early as the reign of Vitellius, on one of whose coins it is actually labelled MARS VICTOR.³⁴ The same inscription is found earlier still on a coin of Galba with a somewhat different type.³⁵ The present type was adopted and perpetuated by Vespasian,³⁶ and no doubt by this time would readily be recognized without an explanatory inscription. Curiously enough, when Marcus himself uses the inscription, it is to introduce a fresh type³⁷ (in 172 P.C.), while the present type, or one closely similar, is given by Cohen³⁸ with the inscription MARTI VLTORI. The type under consideration is interesting as showing the way in which readily recognized attributes were

³⁴ Cohen, vol. I., *Vitellius*, 58.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, *Vespasian*, 265.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 430.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, *Galba*, 138.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. III., *M.-A.*, 431.

used to particularize a figure, and is a good example of the symbolic method of Roman numismatic art.

The occurrence of these Victory-types with the inscription MP. II. on coins of Marcus, without ARMENIACVS or the specific types of the Armenian victory, is significant of the relation of the colleagues to one another. Both held the auspices in precisely equal measure, and in consequence a victory won under the auspices of either was under the auspices of both, and a salutation of one was equally a salutation of the other. Marcus therefore of necessity becomes IMP. II., and places upon his coins a record of the victory which justified the assumption of the title. Yet his natural modesty led him to seem to claim as little as possible any share in his brother's victories, won while he was at home, and in consequence he refused (at first) to assume the name ARMENIACVS, or the specific types which justified that name. Hence the Victory-types he uses are as vague as possible, that he might merely account for the *salutatio* without seeming to be boasting of a victory won by his colleague. One might express the state of the case by saying that the general fact that the armies had been victorious belonged of necessity to both emperors, but Marcus preferred that the actual victory itself should belong to his brother specially.

The conclusion arrived at above that the campaign which resulted in the Armenian victory and the second *salutatio* lasted till late in the year 163, and that the coins recording it belong quite to the close of the year, is confirmed by the fact that the next year, 164, produces a copious crop of coins referring in one way or another to Victory, without increasing the number of the imperial title—from which it is fair to conclude

that the decisively victorious campaign which they commemorate had already closed (*scil.* in the autumn of 163).^{32a} I proceed to a description and discussion of some of the most interesting types. The Armenia-types and the Mars-Victor and Victory-types of Marcus are continued. Then comes the assumption of the name ARMENIACVS by Marcus, and the appearance upon the coins of both emperors of a new Victory-type.³³

Obv.—L. VERVS AVG. ARMENIACVS
or
ANTONINVS AVG. ARMENIACVS } Bust r., laureate.

Rev.—TR. P. IIII. IMP. II. COS. II.
or
P.M. TR. P. XVIII. IMP. II. COS. III. } Victory, wear-
ing στέφανος and χιτών, leaving r. side bare to waist, standing r.; she supports with the l. hand a shield placed upon a palm-tree, and holds in the r. hand an instrument which may be a peg, or a graving tool; the shield is usually inscribed VIC.
AVG.

N.

[Pl. XII. 4, 5.]

Here again the reference is obvious. We have a personification of the victory won by the emperors (*Victoria Augustorum*), engaged in setting up a memorial

^{32a} The conclusion is not a necessary one in all such cases, but the very distinctive character of these types (discussed immediately below) makes it almost certain here.

³³ Cf. Cohen, vol. iii., *M.-A.*, 466-467; *L. V.*, 247 *seq.* Victory may be regarded either as inscribing the shield, or as affixing it to the tree; the fact that the shield is occasionally blank would perhaps slightly suggest the former view, which may possibly receive some confirmation from the type of Victory holding upon her knee (as Cohen, vol. iii., *M.-A.*, 323), or upon a cippus (cf. Cohen, vol. ii., *Traj.*, 247), a shield similarly inscribed. If this view be the true one, the instrument in the right hand would be a graving tool.

of the conquest. This type is normally used with definite reference to a specific victory, and one which gained the *salutatio*. But in the number of the *salutatio* there is no increase during this year, so that the reference must be to the victory of 163. Since therefore the appearance of this type which, as it were, states the justification for ARMENIACVS IMP. II., is delayed till this year, we may regard it as certain that the assumption of the titles is to be dated at the very close of the campaigning season of 163 P.C.

The three Victory-types we have just considered form a neat example of the way in which the Roman imagination worked. Starting with the idea of victory, the artist proceeds at once to personify: the personification is already at hand in the Greek Νίκη, who is provided with a further identification in her proper attributes of the laurel-wreath and the palm. The victory is won by an emperor—Νίκη inscribes a shield with the words VIC. AVG. and affixes it as a memorial to a palm-tree (her own tree). The victory results in a conquest of Armenia—Νίκη with her trophy stands exultantly beside a poor pigmy Armenia weeping among her captured arms. On these lines it was possible to particularize a recognized type in any number of different ways, and we shall meet with several further examples.

The more obvious form of symbolism, approaching an abbreviated picture, is also exemplified among the coins of this year. Take the following large bronze:⁴⁰

Obv.—L. AVREL. VERVS AVG. ARMENIACVS Head r., bare.

⁴⁰ Cf. Cohen, *L. V.*, 256 *sqq.*

Rev.—TR. P. IIII. IMP. II. COS. II. (margin). S. C. (exergue). The emperor on horseback, galloping l., his *paludamentum* flying loose from his shoulders; in his r. hand he brandishes a spear; beneath the horse's fore legs is a small figure, fallen upon hands and knees, and looking up and backwards at the emperor.

Æ¹.

Here we have Verus riding down a figure typifying the Armenian power. It is a more concrete form of symbol than the others, but still a pure symbol—especially as we are credibly informed that Verus did not take part in the campaign personally, but took his ease among the groves of Daphnae while his troops under Statius Priscus overran Armenia.⁴¹

There are some subsidiary types connected with the victory of 163, which well deserve notice. The Mars Victor of the previous year is repeated in 164.⁴² With this figure in mind we shall not find much difficulty in recognizing Mars again in the following type, which occurs on coins of both emperors : ⁴³

Rev.—TR. P. IIII. IMP. II. COS. II. } Warrior in
P.M. TR. P. XVIII. IMP. II. COS. III. } helmet, lorica, cloak, and boots, standing r.,
holding in r. hand spear, point downwards, and
laying l. hand on shield which rests on ground.

Æ¹ and ².

[Pl. XII. 6, 7.]

This type is in fact identical with that of Pius with which is associated the inscription MARTI VLTORI.⁴⁴ The

⁴¹ *Hist. Aug.*, iv. 8, § 12, 9, § 1; v. 7, § 1; Dio (lxxi. 2) gives him credit for directing affairs from headquarters: Διατάττων ἑκάστα καὶ τὰς τοῦ πολέμου χορηγίας ἀθροίζων.

⁴² Not in Cohen; but cf. vol. iii., *M.-A.*, 835.

⁴³ Cf. Cohen, *M.-A.*, 468 sqq.; *L. V.*, 228 sqq.

⁴⁴ Cf. Cohen, vol. ii., *Antonin.*, 550.

lowered spear is, I think, a part of the type, although I have noted several specimens in which the lowered point is not visible. This may be due merely to bad preservation. The majority of the coins which I have seen show it, and I do not remember a case in which the spear was definitely upright. I have noted a similar variation among the MARTI VLTORI coins of Pius, but there too the best preserved coins have the point decidedly downwards. On the coins of Commodus with the same inscription⁴⁵ I have nowhere noted that the spear is reversed. But these coins are rare, and I have seen only much-worn specimens. The lowered spear would be quite consistent with the general tone of the type, which distinctly suggests repose (in strong contrast to the vigorous action of Mars Victor). The war-god has finished his avenging task, and rests after the fight, leaning on his spear, while he has let down his shield from his wearied arm, and allows it to rest on the ground. If the lowered point is really a part of the type, it would connect this Mars with the figure which appears on the coins of Commodus⁴⁶ with the legend MART(i) PACAT(ori), and holds an olive-branch and a reversed spear; as well as with the MARTI PACIFERO type of Septimius Severus,⁴⁷ which differs considerably from the present one, but also holds a reversed spear. On the other hand, the Mars Victor of Pescennius Niger⁴⁸ and of Septimius Severus⁴⁹ holds his spear with the point downward. Amid all this confusion of types and names, there seems at any rate no doubt that

⁴⁵ Cf. Cohen, vol. iii., *Commode*, 346 *sqq.*

⁴⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, 349-353.

⁴⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, vol. iv., *Sept. Sev.*, 316.

⁴⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, vol. iii., *Pesc. Nig.*, 50.

⁴⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, vol. iv., *Sept. Sev.*, 319.

this resting warrior of Marcus is intended to convey the idea of the completion of a war. For the sake of distinction merely I shall refer to it as Mars Ultor, on the analogy of the closely similar types of Pius and Commodus, not because I think that that name in any way describes the action of the figure, as does the inscription MARTI VICTORI, for instance. Mars Ultor is simply a figure of the Pantheon,⁵⁰ who may appear in various *roles* on the coins, whenever a war of vengeance calls for his presence. As a matter of fact, Marcus ten years later actually applies the inscription MARTI VLTORI to the type here identified as Mars Victor.⁵¹ In any case the ideas of victory, vengeance, and pacification lay not far apart in the Roman mind. The suggestion of the type that the fighting is now over is confirmed by the fact that this type succeeds that of Mars Victor on the coins. I am not aware of any coin of Marcus with ARMENIACVS and Mars Victor, nor of any coin of his with Mars Ultor and without ARMENIACVS. For the coins of Verus we have of course no distinction between the earlier and later, and Mars Victor does not appear at all on the coins of this emperor.

There is yet another warrior-type of this year, found on the coins of Marcus without ARMENIACVS, and on coins of Verus: ⁵²

Rev.—TR. P. IIII. IMP. II. COS. II. } Warrior, nude
 TR. P. XVIII. IMP. II. COS. III. S. C. }
 except for helmet, and short cloak floating at
 waist, stepping r., carrying spear in r. hand
 and trophy over l. shoulder.
 Æ¹. [Pl. XII. 8 ; Pl. XIII. 1.]

⁵⁰ See Cohen, vol. i., *Aug.*, 189.

⁵¹ Cf. *ibid.*, vol. iii., *M.-A.*, 430.

⁵² Cf. *ibid.*, vol. iii., *M.-A.*, 832 *sqq.*; *L. V.*, 236.

This type, which is exceedingly common on the coins of the Antonine Emperors, but without an explanatory inscription, might be taken for another Mars Victor; and, indeed, there is a coin of Galba which gives the same attributes to a figure which it calls MARS VICTOR.⁵³ But his standing Mars is not identical with our present type; nor are the types of Vespasian with the same attributes, inscribed MARS VLTOR⁵⁴ and MARS CONSERV(ator).⁵⁵ The type, in fact, seems to come in without any introduction, and it is not till we reach the pretenders who followed Commodus that we meet with any explanatory inscription. The coin of Pescennius Niger bearing this type and MARTI AVGVSTO⁵⁶ is not much help, nor can we really get much out of the inscription MARTI INVICTO⁵⁷ which sometimes accompanies the same type on coins of this pretender. But we cannot look for much reliable information here. Niger was a free-lance, outside the proper imperial tradition. He never reached Rome, and his coins, struck in the East, are of wretched style and often of quite barbarous workmanship. From such a makeshift coinage we could hardly expect much evidence of value. Clodius Albinus, however, was during the period of his recognition by the senate and Severus a quite respectable person, different from the rude revolutionary, and his coinage falls more into line with the Antonine tradition even than that of Pertinax and Julianus. Now he employs the type we are discussing, and calls it MARS PATER.⁵⁸ So does Severus.⁵⁹

⁵³ Cohen, vol. i., *Galba*, 138.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. i., *Vesp.*, 270.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. iii., *Pesc. Nig.*, 48.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. iii., *Albin.*, 45.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. iv., *Sept. Sev.*, 311. This is in 195, but on coins struck

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, *Vesp.*, 264.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, *Pesc. Nig.*, 49.

It would appear, therefore, that after his vagaries on the irresponsible coinage of Niger, this trophy-bearing Mars has settled down to the character of Mars Pater, *i.e.* Mars the father of Romulus, and progenitor of the Roman people. Experience has already shown us that it is not safe to argue directly from the name given to a type by one emperor to the character of the type as used by another emperor; but in this case there is a slight piece of evidence which inclines me to think that Albinus and Severus were preserving a true tradition of the identity of this figure in labelling him MARS PATER. In the beautiful and interesting series of coins struck by Pius with types illustrating the legendary history of the Roman nation from the flight of Aeneas from Troy to the exploit of Horatius Cocles, there is one which represents the appearance of Mars to Rhea Silvia⁶⁰ [Pl. XIII. 2]. The resemblance between the youthful Mars of this type, who hovers in the air, nude except for a helmet and a short cloak floating at the waist, and carries shield and spear, and the trophy-bearing Mars of our present type, is too strong to escape notice.⁶¹ The Rhea Silvia coin bears the date COS. II., without any tribunician year. It belongs, therefore, to the period 140-143 *p. c.* Now it is just during this period that the Mars *ῥοπαιοφόρος* we are considering first appears on the coins of Pius.⁶² I suggest, therefore, that the figure

in 193, when he was still only an adventurer, he inscribed the type MART(i) VICTO(ri).

⁶⁰ Cf. Cohen, vol. ii., *Antonin.*, 885 sqq.

⁶¹ The Mars who appears to Rhea Sylvia is a beardless, youthful figure; the type under consideration varies in this respect; on the particular example before us he is bearded.

⁶² I cannot find any such coin in Cohen, but there are several examples at Berlin; it bears no inscription except S. C.

of Mars, wearing nothing but a helmet and a light cloak about the waist, was recognized as the Mars who was the father of Romulus (the original was no doubt some statue), and as such was introduced into the Rhea Silvia type. The employment of the figure in a Victory-type I should explain as follows: Given a Mars who was recognized as the father of Rome's founder, there was a representative of the Roman people as a military power to hand. When, therefore, a victory called for some recognition in the coinage, this figure was taken and armed with a trophy. If this identification be correct, we have a method of personification rather different from those we have yet seen. Mars Pater is quite a personal figure, like Mars Ultor, but more individual, and unlike Mars Victor, who in my view is merely Victorious War; but as the progenitor of the Roman nation, he stands for that nation on its military side. The type as we have it on the coins of Marcus and Verus for 164, represents the Roman people carrying away the spoils of the Armenian victory. In any case, of course, there is no doubt about the significance of the type from an historical point of view. The investigation into its exact character is one which bears rather upon the history of thought, and of art in particular. It may be observed that the appeal to Pius is one that carries some weight in these matters, on account of his evident antiquarian tastes. Marcus followed him in this respect; Commodus is more independent; and the pretenders who followed him are quite reckless of historical or antiquarian propriety. Albinus (who was related to the Antonines) is truest to the tradition; Severus less so, but better than the other three. In this case the true tradition is perhaps more likely to have

survived, since the type was rarely out of use throughout the whole period, whenever events gave occasion for it.

The next type I shall deal with brings out a somewhat similar use of personification, yet with a distinct shade of difference. It occurs only on the coins of Verus, and is, so far as I know, unique :

Rev.—TR. P. IIII. IMP. II. COS. II. Male figure of massive proportions, nude except for a lion's skin covering the head and hanging down over the l. arm; he stands front, with his head turned l., and holds in the l. hand a club, in the r. hand a branch.

A.

The figure is not hard to recognize. Cohen gives an example which makes the identification. Its inscription reads *HERC(ules) PAC(ifer)*.⁶³ Hercules in the capacity of peacemaker is rather a strange figure: probably we have to find the significance of the type not in any abstract quality which is bound up with it, but in what it stands for, as I have supposed to be the case with Mars Pater. Verus, who was somewhat vain of his fine figure, probably regarded Hercules with especial devotion as his patron, and thought him a suitable personage to use when he wished to hint rather delicately at his own exploits. So he placed the giant on his coins, in repose, with the olive-branch of peace in his hand, to indicate that he was himself engaged in a pacific task. How far such a use of a divine figure involves the emperor's identification of himself with the deity in

⁶³ Cohen, vol. iii., *L. V.*, 112. The inscription might also be completed *HERCules PACator*, bringing it in line with the *Mars Pacator* quoted above, but the parallel with other types bearing the olive-branch leads us to prefer *Pacifer*.

point, is another question. Numismatists have been too ready to describe a figure as "the emperor in the person of" such and such a deity. For any such direct identification some quite special indication is needed. Hercules is here simply as the patron of Verus, in the first instance. Yet the use of such a type when it was quite clear that the real "*pacifer*" in question was the Emperor Verus himself would probably suggest a sort of identification, but in a quite unobjectionable way. The case is quite different when Commodus puts the head of Hercules on the *obverse* of his coins and inscribes his own name. Summing up, then, Hercules Pacifer is no abstraction like Mars Victor, nor *merely* a representative figure such as I have supposed Mars Pater to be, but an actual deity, to whom the emperor desires to pay especial devotion, engaged in the act attributed to him in the inscription, yet with a *soupçon* that the real "peacemaker" is the emperor—a Hercules on earth.⁶⁴

As the allegorical figures of Victory had a corresponding type symbolizing the course of the victorious campaign in more concrete fashion, so has this peace-making Hercules a pendant in an interesting type presenting in parallel fashion the end of the war—the reconciliation. I give a description from a gold coin in

⁶⁴ This evidence of the devotion of Verus to Hercules is interesting in relation to the subsequent development of Hercules-types under Commodus, an emperor who, if we may trust the biographers, had more in common with his father's colleague than the name which they both bore. The Hercules-type of the earlier half of Commodus' reign (occurring in 183 and 184) has in fact no more extravagant meaning than the present coin of Verus. It is only later that the title *Hercules Commodianus* indicates an ulterior meaning, and finally the emperor himself appears with the features and attributes of the hero.

the British Museum, showing some slight divergences in detail from the specimen given by Cohen:⁶⁵

Obv.—L. VERVS AVG. ARMENIACVS Bust r., laureate and loricate.

Rev.—TR. P. III. IMP. II. COS. II. (margin). REX ARMEN. DAT. (exergue). A platform fills the greater part of the field: upon it the emperor is seated l., in loric and *paludamentum*, on a *sella curulis*, attended by a cloaked military figure, standing l. behind the emperor's chair, and by another soldier in loric and cloak, who stands on the emperor's r., extending his r. arm as if calling the emperor's attention to a male figure who stands front, with head turned l., on the ground to the l. of the platform, clad in a short full tunic, and raising his hand to his forehead; the emperor is extending his r. hand towards this standing figure.

AN,

[Pl. XIII. 3.]

The coin explains itself. The conquered Armenians are receiving a king from the hands of the Emperor Verus. The figure standing before the platform is no less a person than Sohaemus, descendant of Achaemenes and of Arsaces, and senator and consul of Rome.⁶⁶ The figure to the emperor's right we may, perhaps, without being too fanciful, call Statius Priscus, the conqueror of Armenia; while the figure who on these occasions regularly appears behind the emperor's chair is ordinarily, and no doubt correctly, identified as the praetorian prefect. It might be thought that this coin would suggest that the Emperor Verus officiated in person at the ceremony of investing King Sohaemus with the crown. But our experience will make us chary of expecting too great accuracy of detail in these matters;

⁶⁵ Cohen, vol. iii., *L. V.*, 157 *sqq.*

⁶⁶ See Eckhel's note on this coin, vol. vii., p. 91.

and further, there is a coin of Pius⁶⁷ bearing the same inscription, and representing that emperor crowning a predecessor of King Sohaemus, at a date when it seems quite certain that Pius was not in the East. This coin, then, will count for nothing in the face of the entire lack of epigraphic evidence for the emperor's presence in Armenia, and the negative evidence of the statement in the life⁶⁸ that Verus spent his time mainly at Antioch, Daphnae, and Laodicea, but undertook one journey to Ephesus, and another to the Euphrates—implying that there was no third journey.

We are not yet through with the types of 164. One at least deserves more than passing mention. On the silver and bronze of Marcus⁶⁹ a frequent type of this year represents a tall female figure, wearing a helmet, a long χιτὼν falling to the feet and gathered at the waist, and the aegis upon her breast. She lays her left hand on a shield which rests on the ground, and her spear leans on her left arm; the right hand holds a branch. There can be no difficulty in recognizing Pallas Athene, who does duty for Minerva. She is in repose; her spear and shield are no longer in use; and the olive-branch marks her out as Minerva Pacifera—Marcus' substitute for the Hercules Pacifer of Verus. Probably it would be too fanciful to find in the choice a suggestion of the difference in their characters. There is, however, an appropriateness in the figure of Minerva which is more easily recognized than in the case of Hercules, for she is a warlike goddess, the wearer of the aegis, and frequently appears on coins fighting the emperor's battles.

⁶⁷ Cf. Cohen, vol. ii., *Antonin.*, 686.

⁶⁸ *Hist. Aug.*, v. 7, §§ 4-7.

⁶⁹ Cf. Cohen, vol. iii., *M.-A.*, 842 *sqq.*

This type is found both with and without ARMENIACVS, though predominantly without. It cannot therefore be dated exclusively to the first part or exclusively to the second part of the year. The whole year is to be regarded as occupied in the restoration of peace after the successes of the previous year—in the “pacification” of Armenia.

A medallion given by Cohen⁷⁰ for this year, with the two emperors crowned by Victories, I leave for subsequent discussion. A large bronze also given by him for 164 represents Rome greeting Verus.⁷¹ One's first thought on seeing such a type would be of a return of the emperor. That is, of course, out of the question. The idea must be simply that Rome congratulates Verus on his successes.

Before proceeding further I will sum up briefly the results obtained so far. Up to the end of 164 there has been only one decisively victorious campaign, resulting in the conquest of Armenia. The year 164 has been spent in the pacification of the country, and with the coronation of King Sohaemus the Armenian incident is closed. As yet there has been no mention of Parthia.

I pass to 165 P.C., dated by the nineteenth tribunician year of Marcus, the fifth of Verus. During the course of this year the title PARTH(icus) MAX(imus) appears for the first time on the coins of Verus, with IMP. III. on the coins of both emperors. Taking the Berlin Collection as a standard again, we find the following proportions:

Coins of Verus with ARMENIACVS IMP. II.	18	} 26
“ “ “ ARM. PARTH. MAX. IMP. III.	8	
“ Marcus with ARMENIACVS IMP. II.	20	} 31
“ “ “ ARMENIACVS IMP. III.	11	

⁷⁰ Cohen, vol. III., L. V., 348.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, L. V., 181.

(On one coin of Marcus the imperatorial number is quite illegible, though the tribunician date is clear: comparison with Cohen renders it probable that this coin had IMP. II.—thus making the proportions more nearly equal for the two emperors.)

From this we may conclude that the coins with the additional titles belong to the close of the year—though the change is a trifle earlier than the similar change in 163.⁷² Allowing again for the interval between the event and its commemoration in the coins, we may fix the new *salutatio* in August or September, 165 p.c. The year 165, then, was given to a campaign against Parthia, which issued successfully in the early autumn. I proceed to describe the types connected with this victory.⁷³

Obv.—L. VERVS AVG. ARM. PARTH. MAX. Half-bust r.

Rev.—TR. P. V. IMP. III. COS. II. Figure in Oriental headdress (tiara), short tunic and trousers, seated on ground r., with hands behind back: in background to r. quiver, bow, and small hexagonal shield (l.-r.).

Æ.

[Pl. XIII. 4.]

Obv.—L. VERVS AVG. ARM. PARTH. MAX. Head r., radiate.

Rev.—TR. POT. V. IMP. III. COS. II. S. C. Figure in Oriental headdress (tiara), short tunic, trousers, and (?) cloak, seated on ground l., with hands behind back; to l. trophy, at foot of which hexagonal shield.

Æ².

⁷² The greater variety of the types with the new titles for this year suggests that those titles were in force for a more considerable portion of the year.

⁷³ Cf. Cohen, *L. V.*, 193 sqq.

Obv.—L. VERVS AVG. ARM. PARTH. MAX. Head r., laureate.

Rev.—TR. POT. V. IMP. III. COS. II. S. C. Figure in Oriental headdress (tiara), short tunic, and trousers, seated r. on ground, with hands behind back: in background—to l. trophy, at foot of which hexagonal shield; to r. quiver, bow, and hexagonal shield (l.-r.).

Æ¹.

This is obviously a companion type to the Armenia of 163. There is no explanatory inscription, but we need have no hesitation in referring the type to the Parthian victory. There are, however, obvious differences between this type and the Armenia. The attitude is different: this figure is clearly a captive with bound hands; Armenia was simply seated in an attitude of grief. There is some difficulty about the sex of the present figure. Cohen has enunciated a canon that a figure with hands bound behind is always a male captive, while a figure seated in an attitude of grief is a female, representing a female captive, if found in company with another captive, or the personification of a country if found alone. In my own notes of the coins I have seen I waver somewhat between male and female for these Parthian types, but I have no real reason for rejecting Cohen's canon. According to this, we have here a Parthian captive, seated with bound hands among his own lost arms (the small shield, bow, and quiver), and standing for the defeated hosts of the Parthian empire. One might find a reason for the difference in the fact that the Armenian war was one of subjugation (or "pacification"), while the object of the Parthian war was simply to humble the power of the Parthian Empire. But I am not sure that this distinction can

be maintained, for the following reasons: (a) Cohen gives coins of this year with a type identical with the Armenia of 163, but without a descriptive legend.⁷⁴ Cohen himself describes this figure as Armenia, but as it occurs with TR. P. V. IMP. III., and therefore was struck after the Parthian victory, I can see no reason, apart from preconceived ideas of propriety, for not describing it as Parthia; (b) the coins of Trajan with PARTHIA CAPTA bear, according to Cohen,⁷⁵ the type of a trophy between two captives, and not a personification of the province; yet Trajan certainly thought of the *subjugation* of Parthia as a desirable and practicable aim; and indeed the type of DAC(ia) CAP(ta),⁷⁶ which certainly commemorates a complete subjugation, is parallel with our type of a Parthian captive, in that it shows, according to Cohen, not Dacia, but a Dacian weeping. The type commemorating the *reductio in formam provinciae* introduces the personification of Dacia.⁷⁷ I do not think, then, that Verus was careful to distinguish between what he accomplished against Armenia and what he accomplished against Parthia, although it may be that the predominance of "captive"-types on the Parthian coins is intended to bring to the front the Parthian army, while the clear personification of the Armenian types emphasizes the effects of the war on the country itself.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Cohen, vol. iii., *L. V.*, 190-192.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., *Traj.*, 184.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, *Traj.*, 117-121.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, *Traj.*, 125.

⁷⁸ It may be useful to transcribe in brief from Cohen the principal corresponding types of Vespasian and Domitian, celebrating the successes of those emperors in Judaea and Germany.

Cohen, vol. i., *Vesp.*—

229-231, IVDAEA Female figure seated with hands behind back.

As before, there is a type of a more concrete character answering to these allegorical types. It is closely similar to one which we have already considered. I give the description from a gold coin in the British Museum :⁷⁹

Obv.—L. VERVS AVG. ARM. PARTH. MAX. Bust r., laureate, loricæ, paludate.

Rev.—TR. P. V. IMP. III. COS. II. The emperor, bare-headed, with loricæ, and *paludamentum* floating from shoulders, on horseback galloping r.; in his r. hand he holds a spear with which he thrusts downward at a small figure clad in tiara and cloak, resting on the ground on his knees and l. hand, while he raises the r. arm in supplication to the emperor, towards whom his face is uplifted.

AN.

This clearly is a companion type to the one which represented the emperor trampling on the Armenian power. As it here occurs with the Parthian title and the third *salutatio*, we may fairly assume that the prostrate figure stands for the Parthian power, broken in the campaign of 165. I may observe in passing that a more elaborate form of the Armenian type recurs on a large bronze medallion of this year, given by Cohen, with the inscription ARMENIA to distinguish it. It is

232-238, IVDAEA CAPTA Two captives—male with hands behind back, female weeping—and arms.

239, IVDAEA CAPTA Emperor, and Judaea weeping.

240, IVDAEA CAPTA Judaea weeping among arms.

241, IVDAEA DEVICTA Judaea standing with bound hands.

Cf. also *ibid.*, *Titus*, 107-119.

Ibid., *Domit.*, 135-137, GERMANIA CAPTA Trophy and two captives, male and female.

On *Vesp.*, 239, Cohen has a note somewhat similar in effect to the one cited on the *Venus* coins.

⁷⁹ *Cf.* Cohen, vol. iii., *L. V.*, 275.

accompanied by the legend TR. P. V. IMP. II., and therefore belongs to the part of the year before the Parthian victory. Another medallion of this year described by Cohen,⁶⁰ and similarly inscribed, represents the emperor crowned by Victory, with a suppliant Armenia at his feet.

Returning to the Parthian types, there is only one more coin of Verus which I shall describe. It also is in the British Museum :⁶¹

Obv.—L. VERVS AVG. Bust r., paludate.

Rev.—TR. P. V. IMP. III. COS. II. Victory in χιτών, advancing l., holding in l. hand palm-branch, in r. hand wreath.

AJ.

I mention this coin only to point out the peculiarity of the inscription. The IMP. III. makes it certain that the coin was struck after the Parthian victory, yet the new title does not appear at all. But as ARMENIACVS, too, is absent, no importance can be attached to the omission. The type needs no comment. It represents the Parthian victory, depicted in the most general form.

The imperial title is of course the only thing which distinguishes the later coins of Marcus from the earlier for this year. The most interesting of the types accompanied by IMP. III. is perhaps one which represents a female figure clad in helmet, χιτών, and ἰμάτιον, seated left, with a shield leaning against her chair to the right. Her attributes are somewhat doubtful. Cohen gives them as a small figure of Victory and a spear.⁶² I have, however, carefully examined the Berlin specimen, and

⁶⁰ Cohen, vol. iii., *L. V.*, 14.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, *M.-A.*, 481.

⁶² Cf. *ibid.*, *L. V.*, 271.

am quite sure that the object in the right hand is the *palladium*, and I think that the left hand holds, not a spear, but a *parazonium* [Pl. XIII. 5]. Possibly Cohen may be right as regards the specimen in the Cabinet de France, but I do not think he is implicitly to be trusted when it comes to such small points as the difference between a Victory, a *palladium*, and a Cupid. The *palladium*, if I am right, would be fairly conclusive evidence. It is the constant attribute of two personages only—Vesta and Rome. Here, of course, it is Rome, and indeed Cohen makes the identification without that evidence, and no doubt quite rightly. But I confess that I cannot see the relevance of this coin, if one is to try and bring it into relation with the Parthian War, and I rather suspect it may have been anxiety on this point that quickened Cohen's imagination to provide the *palladium* with the wings of a Victory! I am myself inclined to think it has nothing at all to do with the war in the East—and not the less inclined because the coins of Verus for this year supply us with a Rome-type which clearly has reference to his own exploits.⁶³ Marcus would seem to have deliberately avoided adopting his brother's Parthian types, just as he refused the title Parthicus, till the next year, and as we have seen him abstaining from the use of at any rate the most marked and definite Armenian types, until he consented to wear the corresponding title. That this Rome-type, although coinciding with the title IMP. III., has nothing to do with the Parthian victory, would be certain, if it could be demonstrated that it disappears on the assumption of the Parthian title. Cohen gives no instance of its

⁶³ See Cohen, vol. iii., L. V., 263.

appearance with ARM. PARTH. MAX. In the Berlin Collection, however, are two middle bronzes of 166 bearing this type and the Parthian title. The clinching argument, therefore, is wanting; yet I think we are justified in regarding the type as having a reference quite outside Eastern affairs. I have seen no other types of Marcus bearing IMP. III., which could be brought into relation with the war in the East. There is an Annona type,⁸⁴ with clear reference to Marcus' administrative work,⁸⁵ a perfectly non-committal Providence,⁸⁶ and a third type of a female figure with cornucopiae and short caduceus, having an orb at her feet, which I believe to be *Felicitas [Orbis]*⁸⁷—another quite commonplace and comparatively unmeaning type. What, then, is the meaning of the Rome-type? Perhaps as she is a seated Rome, wearing the long chiton, while the coin of Verus I have referred to has a walking Rome in military costume, it may be implied that Marcus is the guardian and representative of the Roman power at home, in its own seat, while Verus has the mobile power of Rome with him. The *palladium*, however, is the symbol of the stability of the city, and is particularly associated in legend with dangers from the barbarians of the North. Could it have been put on the coins as a hint to the frightened populace of the capital that the barbarians who were battering at the doors of Italy could not touch the Eternal City? The type of Rome seated with the *palladium* is actually found on coins of Pius with the inscription ROMA AETERNA.⁸⁸ On coins of

⁸⁴ Cf. Cohen, vol. iii., *M.-A.*, 484.

⁸⁵ Cf. *Hist. Aug.*, iv. 8, § 9; 11, § 3.

⁸⁶ Cf. Cohen, vol. iii., *M.-A.*, 801 *sqq.*

⁸⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, *M.-A.*, 480.

⁸⁸ Cohen (vol. ii., *Antonin*, 694) again calls the object a Victory, but I

Clodius Albinus again a closely similar type appears with ROMAE AETERNAE.⁸⁰ We have already noted the coin-types of Albinus as representing a return to the genuine Antonine tradition. On the other hand, the Eternal Rome of Commodus bears a Victory on all coins which I have seen,⁸⁰ and so, if Cohen is right, does that of Pescennius Niger,⁸¹ just as we should expect from emperors who are but indifferent authorities for the antiquarian niceties of mythographic art. We may, therefore, with some assurance style our present type *Roma Aeterna*, and may fairly suspect a reference to the stability of the city in face of threatened dangers. Of such dangers there was certainly no lack. It is evident that throughout these years there was chronic unrest in the North. We hear of revolts of Cauchi and Catti,⁸² in the course of which the latter overran Rhaetia.⁸³ Moreover, it was only by the greatest vigilance on the part of the local governors that the Marcomanni and their allies were prevented from breaking out.⁸⁴ At the same time the legions were absent in the East, and even the frontier garrisons on the North had been weakened. The figure of Eternal Rome seated, with the *palladium*, the divine pledge of her immortality, in her hand, would be no ineffective reply to the panic that must have been threatening in the city. If this interpretation be the true one, we have here the first reference to the troubles on the northern frontier that filled the remaining part of Marcus' reign. The coins

feel quite sure, from an examination of the Berlin example, that it is the *palladium*.

⁸⁰ Cf. Cohen, vol. iii., *Alb.*, 61.

⁸¹ Cf. *ibid.*, *Comm.*, 647-648.

⁸² *Hist. Aug.*, ix. 1, §§ 7, 8.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, iv. 12, § 13.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, P. N., 59.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, iv. 8, § 7.

of the following year still show Rome with her *palladium*, and throughout the second stage of the German War, 170-176, she is a constant figure, either with the single sceptre, or with a Victory, or seated among the spoils of her foes. A danger on the northern frontier must have been felt to concern the capital itself much more nearly than a disturbance away on the Euphrates. Yet even in relation to the Parthian War we have already found the personification of the city sharing in the celebrations of the victory (in the Rome and Verus coin of 164); and in this year she perhaps reappears in a fresh type, which, however, belongs to the earlier part of the year, the period previous to the Parthian victory, to which period therefore I now pass.

I describe the Rome-coin first, from a specimen at Berlin :⁹⁵

Obv.—L. VERVS AVG. ARMENIACVS Head r., radiate.

Rev.—TR. P. V. IMP. II. COS. II. Female figure in helmet, short tunic, and boots, stepping l., holding in r. hand Victory, in l. hand trophy.

Æ.

I have called this figure Rome, in accordance with the usage of Cohen. But there is no explanatory inscription, and in the Amazonian figure portrayed there is really nothing to fix the identification. A similar figure sometimes passes for Virtus, sometimes for Fides. However, it matters little in this particular case what name we give to the figure. The important point is that she carries the symbols of victory; and whether that victory is regarded as being won by the valour of the emperor or the loyalty of his legions, or by Rome herself, whose

⁹⁵ Cohen, vol. iii., L. V., 268.

ministers both emperor and legions were, is a comparatively small point. The coin indubitably testifies to a victory: but what victory? As we saw, there was no campaign in 164, the whole year being occupied with the settlement of affairs in Armenia. The Parthian victory of the present year is not yet won. Does the type, then, refer back to 163? Hardly, for it is a new type, and one would scarcely expect a new type celebrating a victory to appear for the first time more than a year after that victory. Now I have already observed that the imperatorial title was given at the close of a victorious campaign, and not necessarily after the first single victory. There is no reason why single victories should not have occurred during the campaign which ended in the assumption of the titles PARTH. MAX. IMP.

III. I suppose, therefore, that our present type commemorates some such victory, and marks an important stage in the campaign, short of its completion. The other types associated with Victory are old ones, and may be connected with this incidental success, or, far more probably, be mere continuations of the types of previous years. We have Victory inscribing a shield VIC. AVG., the trophy-bearing Victory with Armenia, Victory with palm and wreath, the weeping Armenia, the trophy-bearing Mars (Pater), and the resting Mars (Ultor)—all these in association with IMP. II. on the coins of one or both of the emperors.

These I pass over with the bare mention. Then we have a new type, appearing on coins of both emperors: ⁸⁶

Obv.—L. AVREL. VERVS AVG. ARMENIACVS }
 M. AVREL. ANTONINVS AVG. ARMENIACVS P. M. }
 Bust r., laureate, loricæ, paludate.

⁸⁶ Cf. Cohen, vol. iii., *M.-A.*, 804; *L. V.*, 188, 189.

Rev.—TR. POT. V. IMP. II. COS. II.
 TR. POT. XIX. IMP. II. COS. III. S. C. } Bearded male figure, in lorica and boots, standing l., holding in l. hand sceptre, and supporting with r. hand military standard; before him another standard, behind him two more. The standards are surmounted by various devices—a Victory, an eagle, a laurel wreath, and another object which I fail to recognize; but not always in the same order.

Æ².

[Pl. XIII. 6, 7.]

Along with these coins I must give an obviously kindred type, which I know only from a much-worn specimen at Berlin, and which does not appear in Cohen:—

Obv.—ANTONIN.....V3..... Bust of Marcus r., radiate, pulvinate.

Rev.—.....POT. XIX.....C.....S. C. Female figure in στέφανος and χιτών, standing l., supporting with each hand military standard.

Æ².

(The close analogy with the preceding type would lead one to fill in the missing imperial title as IMP. II.)

The first of these types is no doubt correctly described by Cohen as representing the emperor standing in the midst of military standards. Now, standards are a natural abbreviation for the troops which served under them. The type, therefore, represents the emperor in the midst of his troops. Its appearance on the coins of both emperors indicates that it records an event of some importance. I believe that event was the concentration of troops for the beginning of the *Bellum Parthicum* proper. I do not think it would be quite safe to attempt anything more detailed, though it is

tempting to try to draw conclusions as to the nature of the troops in question. On some of the Verus coins (not, however, on all of them) the emperor holds the standard with a Victory. Now, on Trajan's Column appear standards of the praetorians bearing this symbol. It is somewhat tempting, therefore, to see in this standard, which is particularly closely attached to the emperor, a symbol of his praetorian guard, in which case it would be attractive to see in the remaining standards the symbols of three army-corps under the three generals whose names are regularly mentioned in connexion with this war, Avidius Cassius, Statius Priscus, and Martius Verus.⁹⁷ But here I am on unsafe ground. The second type described is an abbreviation of the first. The figure probably represents *Fides Exercitus*, or perhaps *Virtus Legionum*.

The only important type remaining for the early part of 165 is the familiar one of Liberalitas, which appears on coins of both emperors with the legend IMP. II. The person of the Liberality of the Emperors is as usual figured as a female in *σφιφανος, χερών* and *ἡμάριον*, standing left, holding in her left hand a *cornucopiae*, and in her right an instrument probably intended for an *abacus* (Cohen regularly styles it a "*tessera*," and other writers have followed him). I should be content with merely mentioning this type, which has not much to do with the chronology of the war, but that Cohen has been guilty of an extraordinary muddle in connexion with these particular coins. This Liberality is not numbered on any coins known to me, or, indeed, to Cohen himself.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ *Cl. Hist. Aug.*, v. 7, § 1, &c. The three occur in Dio, lxxi.; Cassius in ch. 2; Priscus and Verus in the Dionian fragment from Suidas printed at the end of this book (in the Tauchnitz Text).

⁹⁸ Eckhel (vol. vii. p. 92) gives one with LIB. AVG. II., but as it is

but it is clearly the second of the reign, for none appears between 161 and 165. Unfortunately, however, Cohen found in the catalogue of Welzl a coin of 161 with LIBERAL. II.⁹⁹ Accordingly, he has put the first two *congiaria* in 161, and he amalgamates this undefined one with the LIBERAL. III. of the next year.¹⁰⁰ In the catalogue of Verus, on the other hand, he has rightly called the undefined Liberality of this year the second.¹⁰¹ The coin of Welzl is clearly due merely to an error, or else it is a forgery. There can be no reasonable doubt that the arrangement adopted in the catalogue of Verus is the true one. The present is the second *congiarium*. We have no record of any special event which called it forth. We know that Rome was much troubled with scarcity in these years; the distribution may have been an attempt to alleviate the distress, though even apart from this it must have been a politic measure to keep the people fairly contented in the face of a very serious situation. These considerations would probably be quite sufficient to account for a *congiarium* in this year.

As I have been obliged to depart considerably from the chronological order in the coins of this year, I will give a brief *résumé* of the results I have tried to establish. The beginning of the Parthian War proper is marked by the type of the Emperor among Military Standards. An incidental victory, important but not decisive, during the campaign has left its traces in the type of Rome (or Fides, or Virtus) with Victory and trophy; while

implicitly rejected by Cohen, I do not recognize it. It rests ultimately upon the exceedingly dubious authority of Vaillant.

⁹⁹ Cohen, vol. iii., *M.-A.*, 407.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, *M.-A.*, 74-75, 408-411.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, *L. V.*, 119-122.

the close of the victorious campaign is represented by the assumption of the titles PARTH. MAX. IMP. III., and by a crop of types which I have recognized as distinctively Parthian.

I pass to 166 P.C. This year again is divided clearly into two parts by the appearance of IMP. III., implying a further victory, on the coins of both emperors, along with that of PARTH. MAX. on the coins of Marcus for the first time. The two changes appear to be absolutely concurrent. I will again use the proportions of coins with the different inscriptions in the Berlin Collection as a standard for determining roughly the date of the change.

Coins of Verus with TR. POT. VI [IMP. III.]	.	.	11	} 25
" " " TR. POT. VI IMP. III.	.	.	13	
" " doubtful	.	.	1	
" Marcus with ARMENIACVS TR. P. VI	.	.	18	} 38
[IMP. III.]	.	.	18	
" " " ARM. PARTH. MAX. TR. P.	.	.	17	
VI IMP. III.	.	.	3	
" " doubtful	.	.	3	

From these data it appears, if we argue along the same lines as before, that the change on the coins took place about the middle of the year, or very little later, allowing for the greater output of the new and special types. The campaign which won this *salutatio*, therefore, must have been a very short one, and have finished before the middle of the year.

The assumption of IMP. III. receives an explanation on the coins of both emperors in a type of Victory with an inscribed shield. As the type is practically identical with that celebrating the Armenian victory of 163, it is unnecessary to give a complete description. The shield is, however, inscribed in this case not VIC. AVG. but

VIC(*toria*) PAR(*thica*).¹⁰² We have also the companion type of the emperor riding down an Oriental enemy—identical with that of last year, but with IMP. IIII.¹⁰³ Cohen gives also a type^{103a} which he takes to represent the presentation of a Parthian king to the troops. The central fact of the year, therefore, is a short and decisive Parthian campaign.

But here we encounter difficulties. The assumption of IMP. IIII. by both emperors and of PARTHICVS MAXIMVS by Marcus is not the only change in the titles during this year. There are a very few coins of both emperors which give the titles ARM. PARTH. MAX. MEDIC. So far as I know the new title appears only with one type. I have not seen any coins of this character, but I describe the type from Cohen:¹⁰⁴

Obv.—L. VERVS AVG. ARM. PARTH. MAX. MEDIC. }
M. ANTONINVS AVG. ARM. PARTH. MAX. MEDIC. }
Bust r., laureate, with aegis.

Rev.—TR. POT. VI. IMP. IIII. COS. II. }
TR. POT. XX. IMP. IIII. COS. III. S. C. } The emperors
in a *quadriga* stepping to l.
Æ¹.

The type clearly represents the triumph of the emperors. What, then, was the date of the triumph? If we calculated from the proportions of coins with and without MEDICVS

¹⁰² Cf. Cohen, vol. iii., *M.-A.*, 807; *L. V.*, 276 *seqq.*

¹⁰³ Cf. *ibid.*, *L. V.*, 275. Cohen gives the type, for this year, only with IMP. III. (No. 287), but the Berlin Collection has an undoubted specimen with IMP. IIII.

^{103a} *Ibid.*, *L. V.*, 288.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. iii., *M.-A.*, 814; *L. V.*, 293. Cohen gives for the latter coin the reading IMP. III., but M. de Foville, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, kindly informs me that the specimen in the Cabinet de France, which is much worn, shows nevertheless sufficient trace of the fourth I to authorize the restoration of IMP. IIII., in agreement with the companion-coin of Marcus; and this reading I can confirm after examining a cast of the original.

we should be obliged to place the event in the closing days of the year. But the case is not so simple. The title in question apparently never occurs on any other coins. According to Eckhel, a closely similar type occurs next year without *MEDIC.*,¹⁰⁶ and certainly the title does not appear with any other types after this year. Obviously, therefore, we can get nothing as to the date from the relative numbers of coins, since those with *MEDIC.* are an isolated phenomenon. It would appear, indeed, that the title *Medicus* was not taken quite seriously. It was merely assumed for the purposes of the triumph. It might be tempting to see in the three times *Armeniacus*, *Parthicus Maximus*, and *Medicus*, the counterpart of the three victories corresponding to *IMP. II.*, *IMP. III.*, and *IMP. IIII.* respectively. But in that case *IMP. IIII.* would have to be a Median victory, whereas we have already seen that it is definitely characterized as a Parthian. Further, the next year produces coins of *Verus* with three trophies, at the foot of which sit three Oriental captives,¹⁰⁶ evidently symbolizing the three victories for which the *salutationes* were given. Yet on these coins *MEDICVS* does not appear. This title, then, was probably an afterthought of *Verus*, and was not regarded as having any special relation to the actual facts of the case. If we may assume, as would seem to follow from the numismatic data, that the title was not used before the triumph, we have a date before which the triumph must have taken place, in an inscription¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 93; Cohen does not recognize this coin, though he gives the corresponding one of *Marcus*, vol. iii., *M.-A.*, 885; cf. Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 53.

¹⁰⁶ Not in Cohen, but cf. vol. iii., *L. V.*, 800, 801.

¹⁰⁷ *C. I. L.*, vi. 360, ap. Napp, *op. cit.*, p. 109. Here, however, the numismatic evidence must be admitted to be inadequate to establish the inference.

which gives both emperors the titles Armeniacus, Parthicus Maximus, Medicus—viz. August 23, 166 P.C. From the coins, however, nothing certain on this point can be gathered. There is one type of the following year which I must notice in passing, as it might cause trouble in connexion with the date of the triumph. It is a repetition of the type of Rome greeting Verus which we have already met in 164.¹⁰⁸ If the type had occurred here for the first time it would strongly have suggested the return of Verus to Rome in 167 or late in 166. But, as we have seen, its first appearance is under circumstances which make such an interpretation inconceivable, so that it need cause no anxiety here. *It is simply one of the types with a general reference to Verus' success.

In connexion with the triumph there is one more problem. The coins show a *congiarium* in 166,¹⁰⁹ and another in 167.¹¹⁰ Which was the one accompanying the triumph? One would have thought the one in 166;¹¹¹ but it is not so, for at this ceremony the emperors are still only IMP. III. It therefore took place during the first half of the year. (It is, perhaps, worth noting that the purely conventional and symbolic character of the *congiarium* type is clearly shown by the fact that in this case *both* emperors appear as taking part in the *congiarium*, when Verus was still in the East.) The *congiarium* of 167, therefore, must be the one connected with the triumph, if any.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Cohen, vol. iii., *L. V.*, 319; but this has TR. P. VIII.; I have, however, seen specimens at Berlin with TR. P. VII.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, vol. iii., *M.-A.*, 74-76; *L. V.*, 123.

¹¹⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, *M.-A.*, 77; *L. V.*, 62.

¹¹¹ So Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 51, says it was given "*occasione Veri incolumis reversi et belli Parthici feliciter confecti.*"

There is a further difficulty about the assumption of the titles PARTH. MAX. [MEDIC.] by Marcus. Capitolinus connects it definitely with the triumph.¹¹² If so, how is it that PARTH. MAX. appears simultaneously with IMP. IIII., while MEDIC. appears for the first time on the triumph coins of *both* emperors? Evidently the Parthian title was assumed by Marcus earlier in the year, on the news of the second Parthian victory (VIC. PAR.).

The whole question of the triumph, and of the events succeeding the close of the final campaign, cannot be regarded as satisfactorily illustrated from the coins. But for the first half of the year we have several interesting types. In the first place, there is a new Victory-type, which I will describe :¹¹³

Obv.— { L. VERVS AVG. ARM. PARTH. MAX. }
 { M. ANTONINVS AVG. ARM. PARTH. MAX. } Head
 r., laureate.

Rev.—VICT. AVG. { TR. P. VI. COS. II. }
 { TR. P. XX. COS. III. } Victory with tur-
 relate/crown, and *χρῶν*, flying l., holding garland
 in both hands.

R.

[Pl. XIII. 8, 9.]

This coin is evidently prior to the final Victory, yet being an entirely fresh type it probably does not merely recall the successes of last year. Probably, therefore, it is a victory incidental to the campaign of 166. Now, a turrelate Victory can hardly mean anything other than a victory over a fortified town, *i.e.* the capture of a city. Now, we know¹¹⁴ that during the Parthian War the twin

¹¹² *Hist. Aug.*, v. 8, § 5. "Habuit hanc reverentiam Marci Verus, ut nomina quae sibi delata fuerant, cum fratre communicaret die triumphi, quem pariter celebrarunt." This statement, however, is in any case manifestly not accurate.

¹¹³ Cf. Cohen, vol. iii., *M.-A.*, 987-990; *L. V.*, 836.

¹¹⁴ *Hist. Aug.*, v. 8, § 3; Dio, lxxi. 2.

cities of Seleucia and Ctesiphon were taken and destroyed. To that event, and more especially to the sack of the capital of the Parthian Empire, we may refer this type, and we are probably to date that event to the early months of 166. Apart from this, we have a record, in all probability, of a battle belonging to the first half of this year in a type representing Victory placing a small oval shield upon a trophy.¹¹⁵ There is no explanatory legend, but the type is clear enough.

I shall notice only one more type of this year, a frequent one on the silver coins throughout. The type represents a female figure in the usual garb of *στέφανος, χιτῶν*, and *ἱμάτιον*, standing left, holding in the left hand a *cornucopiae*, and in the right hand a branch. The accompanying inscription is PAX or PAX AVG., and the type occurs both with IMP. III. and with IMP. IIII., as well as without any imperial title.¹¹⁶ This is the first time we have met with Pax herself, although types suggesting peace have already been recorded. I draw a distinction between the cessation of a particular war, resulting in the "pacification" of a territory, which is represented by such types as Hercules Pacifer, Minerva Pacifera, and even the resting Mars Ultor, and the conclusion of a real and definite peace, such as was secured at the close of the Parthian War in 166.

For this year 166, then, we have an unusually detailed chronology. The early months of the year are occupied by a rapid and victorious campaign against Parthia, involving at least one battle, and the sack of the capital city. This campaign closes, not later than the middle of the year, with the fourth *salutatio*, and the conclusion

¹¹⁵ Cf. Cohen, vol. iii., *L. V.*, 282 *sqq.*

¹¹⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, vol. iii., *M.-A.*, 434 *sqq.*; *L. V.*, 126 *sqq.*

of peace. At some late date before the end of the year Verus returns, the title *Medicus* is assumed, and the triumph for the successful war in the East is celebrated.

There remains the task of collecting the facts we have discovered from the coins, and bringing them into relation with the events as recorded by the literary authorities. The narrative of Dio,¹¹⁷ or rather of Xiphilinus, is brief. Vologeses invaded Armenia, cut to pieces Severianus and his army at Elegeia, and advanced into Syria. Verus, arriving at Antioch, sent Cassius against the Parthians. The war was a defensive one for a while, until Vologeses, being deserted by his allies, was forced to retire, when Cassius pushed forward into the enemy's territory, sacked Selencia, destroyed the royal palace at Ctesiphon, and led his plague-stricken forces back into Syria. It seems clear that we have nothing here of the Armenian War. We are with the army operating against Parthia the whole time. Xiphilinus tells us that the text of Dio failed him for the war in the East,¹¹⁸ and doubtless for this reason our narrative is more scanty. Capitolinus, in the *Life of Marcus*,¹¹⁹ starts with the defeat of Attidius Cornelianus, the governor of Syria. Verus leaves for the East and settles at Antioch and Daphnae. Statius Priscus captures Artaxata and reduces Armenia, with the result that both Emperors receive the title *Armeniacus*. We are then carried with a leap to the close of the war—*"profligato autem bello uterque Parthicus appellatus est."* In the *Life of Verus* the account is naturally somewhat

¹¹⁷ Dio, lxxi. 2 (epit. of Xiph.).

¹¹⁸ Xiph. Epit. of Dio, lxx. 2—ὁ σώζεται . . . ὅσα οὗτος (ὁ Δούκιος) εἰς τὸν κατὰ Οἰολογίστου πόλεμον . . . ἔγραψε.

¹¹⁹ *Hist. Aug.*, iv. 8, §§ 6, 9-14; 9, §§ 1, 2.

fuller. The Parthians, we learn, had killed a legate (unspecified), and cut to pieces certain legions (also unspecified), and Syria was on the verge of revolt.¹²⁰ Arrived at Antioch, Verus entrusted the war to his legates, Statius Priscus, Avidius Cassius, and Martius Verus. The war lasted four years from Verus' arrival. The army occupied Armenia and penetrated into Babylonia and Media.¹²¹ The emperors received the names Armeniacus, Parthicus, Medicus.¹²² Verus had divided his time for the most part between Antioch, Daphnae, and Laodicea, but had once been induced to go as far as the Euphrates.¹²³ We learn incidentally that Seleucia was first surrendered, and afterwards sacked by Cassius' troops; and that while in Babylonia the troops contracted the plague.¹²⁴ At the close of the war, as we are told with the delightful vagueness of these writers, Verus gave "*regna regibus, provincias vero comitibus suis*," and returned to Rome for the triumph.¹²⁵ That is all. A further fragment of Dio records Cassius' crossing of the Euphrates,¹²⁶ and another the founding of *Καὶνὴ Πόλις* in Armenia by Statius Priscus.¹²⁷ This fragment has also much to say of the exploits of Thucydides, the agent of Martius Verus in Armenia; but of this I will say nothing at present, as I wish to reserve it for fuller discussion.

How do the facts ascertained from the coins fit in with this meagre narrative? First, as to the duration of the war, the words of Capitolinus are: "*Egit autem*

¹²⁰ *Hist. Aug.*, v. 6, § 9.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, v. 7, § 1.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 7, § 2.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 7, §§ 3-8.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 8, §§ 2, 3.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 7, §§ 8, 9.

¹²⁶ Frag. Dion. ap. Suidam, s.v. *Ζεύς*, printed in Tauchnitz Text at close of book lxxi.

¹²⁷ Frag. ap. Suidam, *ibid.*

per quadriennium Verus hiemem Laodiceae, aestatem apud Daphnen, reliquam partem Antiochias."¹²⁸ Now, we have seen that Verus' arrival is to be dated at the end of the autumn of 162. This gives him a winter (at Laodicea) to start with, in agreement with the language of the Life; and the "*quadriennium*" would end with the autumn of 166, which is, as we have seen, the date of the triumph. In the second place, the coins show quite clearly that the war had two distinct phases, a *Bellum Armeniacum* and a *Bellum Parthicum*, successive in order of time. The first campaign, that of 163, was in Armenia, and lasted till late in the year. In the second year there was no fresh campaign. The time was spent in the "pacification" of the province, culminating in the coronation of King Sohaemus. We may identify the events of this *biennium* with the exploits of Statius Priscus in the Life of Marcus, and connect with them the founding of *Καὶνὴ Πόλις* (= Nor-Khalakh) in the Diocæan fragment. Capitolinus is right (in the Life of Marcus) in treating the Armenian War as a complete whole, and suggesting that the Parthian War is a fresh phase. There is in 165 a concentration of legions. We found on the coins a possible suggestion that the three army-corps were all brought together for the beginning of the Parthian War. I think, at any rate, we are justified in holding that there was in this year a definite fresh beginning, and we must suppose that in 163-164 the troops not engaged in Armenia were being subjected to the very necessary process of discipline until the army-corps of Priscus was free to take its part in the fresh advance. The greater part

¹²⁸ *Hist. Aug.*, v. 7, § 3.

of 165 is taken up with a campaign against Parthia, resulting in a fresh "*salutatio*," and the assumption of the title PARTHICVS MAXIMVS. This was probably Dio's defensive campaign, though I should give to the phrase ἐπιόντα τὸν Οὐολόγαισον ὑπέμεινε a wider meaning than merely the repulsion of an attack on Syria. Ever since the time of Trajan Mesopotamia, or at least the north-western part of it, had been looked upon as belonging vaguely to the Roman "sphere of influence," and operations in that region might fairly be regarded as part of a defensive campaign. Now, we have abundant evidence of fighting in North-Western Mesopotamia during this war. In fact, it is clear that it was in this region that the bulk of the fighting was done. The purpose of this paragraph is not to investigate evidence outside the coins, so I will merely mention a few points which I have noted in regard to operations in Mesopotamia. An inscription of Claudius Fronto,¹²⁹ who was "*legatus Augustorum pro praetore exercitus legionarii et auxiliorum*," goes on to mention Armenia, Osrhoene, Anthemusia, in connexion with the Eastern expedition. Osrhoene and Anthemusia are both districts in Northern Mesopotamia. In the Letters of Fronto¹³⁰ we find that Nicephorium and Dausara were sacked—both towns in the same region, the former on the Euphrates, the latter near Edessa in Osrhoene. Lucian mentions a siege of Nisibis,¹³¹ further east, in the district of Mesopotamia known as Mygdonia, and the capture of Edessa itself,¹³² as well as a battle at Sura,¹³³ near Nicephorium, but on the Syrian side of the river. Further, he complains of

¹²⁹ *C. I. L.*, vi. 1377, ap. Napp, *op. cit.*, p. 117. ¹³⁰ Ed. Naber, p. 121.

¹³¹ *Quomodo historia*, &c., § 15.

¹³² *Ibid.*, § 22.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, § 29.

the historians of the war for making an error about his native town of Samosata,¹³¹ which lies on the Roman side of the Euphrates in Commagene, but on the direct road to Edessa. These indications suffice to show that the really stiff fighting of this war took place along the line of the Euphrates from Samosata to Nicephorium, and within the region of Mesopotamia bounded by the Euphrates, and by its tributary called in Kiepert's map Aborrhas Araxes, on a feeder of which, called the Mygdonius, Nisibis stands—*i.e.* almost exactly the region which in later times formed the Roman province of Mesopotamia. Now there can be no doubt, from the mere length of time occupied, that the campaign of 165 was the really serious one of the Parthian War. Accordingly I put all this fighting into the year 165. The incidental victory which we found recorded on the coins before the close of the campaign may well be the successful crossing of the Euphrates by Cassius described by the Dionean fragment, and implied in the mention by Lucian and Fronto of fighting at Sura and Nicephorium. The troops probably wintered in Mesopotamia, and the campaign of 166 was a rapid dash into the centre of the enemy's country. There was a decisive battle and the capital was sacked. To this the coins bear witness. In this year, too, the Median expedition must be placed. I have given reasons for supposing that it was not a very important undertaking—at any rate in its results. By the way, I have not seen a discussion of the question, *which* Media was invaded. It seems generally to be assumed that the army pushed straight on from Babylonia into Media Major. If so, it can have been nothing more than a demonstration.

¹³¹ *Quomodo historia*, § 24.

But may it not have been a simultaneous advance direct from Northern Mesopotamia into Media Atropatene? Operations here might be of some use in securing the south-eastern frontier of Armenia. The literary records seem to me rather to imply that the army returned directly from Babylonia without going any further in that direction. If the advance into Media was a parallel and simultaneous campaign further north, then the odd victory of this year, previous to the *salutatio*, might possibly be a Median one. It is interesting to note that it is only the final victory of 166 that is expressly entitled *Victoria Parthica*, and that this corresponds with the language of the inscription of Fronto quoted above: it reads—"leg. Augg. pr. pr. exercitus legionarii et auxilior. per orientem in Armeniam, et Osrhoenam, et Anthemusiam ductorum; leg. Augg. legioni primæ Minervæ in expeditionem Parthicam deducendæ." Here, too, the "*expeditio Parthica*" follows, as distinct from the operations in Armenia and in Mesopotamia.

As to the date of the close of the war the inscriptions agree pretty well with the coins. According to an article in *Hermes*, the fleet is fixed by epigraphic evidence on the Orontes on May 24,¹²⁵ and as we have seen, the triumph may have been over by August 23. The end of the war, and the return of Verus, therefore belong to the middle of the year 166. The settlement referred to in the words, "*regna regibus, provincias vero comitibus suis dedit*," need not necessarily be placed in its entirety before Verus' return. He probably hastened to reach Rome on account of the threatening state of affairs in the West.

C. HAROLD DODD.

¹²⁵ *Hermes*, xxxii. p. 289.

APPENDIX I.

ON SOME TYPES OF THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE CLOSE OF
THE PARTHIAN WAR AND THE DEATH OF VERUS.

WE have already seen that types connected with the triumph of 166 run over freely into 167, some appearing for the first time in the latter year, others repeated from the year before. In 168, however, amid the types of the new German War, we find Eastern types still recurring. There are two which I should like to consider in particular. Unfortunately I have seen neither. Both I describe after Cohen's illustrations. The first is as follows: ¹²⁶

Obv.—M. ANTONINVS AVG. ARM. PARTH. MAX. Bust r., laureate, loricate, with aegis on breast; seen from front.

Rev.—TR. P. XXII. IMP. IIII. COS. III. Two Victories, standing face to face, holding between them a shield

bordered with a laurel wreath, and inscribed

{	SPQR
	VIC
	PARTHI
	CAE

Beneath the shield an Oriental captive in tiara, short tunic, and trousers, seated l. in attitude of grief.

Æ^m.

This medallion is a dedication on the part of the senate and people to the Parthian Victory. The two Victories who hold the shield probably stand for the two victorious campaigns which won the third and fourth *salutationes*, and the captive is a type of 165 introduced here along with the two Parthian Victories, just as the weeping Armenia of 163 was introduced into a type along with the single Armenian Victory (*s. p.* 218).

¹²⁶ Cohen, vol. iii., *M.A.*, 898. The similar type 881 is obviously no genuine coin.

In the contents of the type, then, there is no difficulty. We may assume that the medallion records a congratulatory vote of the senate. But why is the vote so late? The type is, so far as appears, an entirely new one, occurring for the first time two years after the final victory over Parthia; and it seems to be quite isolated.

The other type is a more familiar one. It occurs on a medallion of Verus: ¹³⁷

Obv.—L. VERVS AVG. ARM. PARTH. MAX. Head r., laureate.

Rev.—TR. POT. VIII. IMP. IIII. COS. III. ARMENIA The emperor, bareheaded, with loric and *paludamentum*, on horseback r., thrusting down with his spear at a prostrate figure in Oriental costume; behind him two soldiers, one of whom carries the emperor's helmet, and one a standard.

Æ^m.

Now, this type is an exact counterpart of one of 165,¹³⁸ with merely the date changed. In the interval there has been no mention of Armenia. Why this sudden revival? The Armenian Victory is an even older story than the Parthian. Of course it is possible that we have here merely a renewed reference to the triumph, but if so it is a very strange reference, for neither of the types was used in connexion with the triumph in 166 or 167. A new type generally means some fresh development in the course of events; but in 168 affairs seemed to be quiet in the East. The types would, I think, be easily accounted for if it could be shown that there was a small outbreak in Armenia this year, calling for a campaign on the part of one of Verus' new governors in the East. A small success under such circumstances would just provide the senate with an excuse for a congratulatory vote. The types would of course commemorate not the petty incident but the great victory, yet the commemoration would be occasioned by a fresh success in the same region.

¹³⁷ Cohen, vol. iii., *L. V.*, 16; cf. Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 93.

¹³⁸ Cohen, vol. iii., *L. V.*, 15.

I think it may be possible to discover such an episode in the fragment of Dio, to which I have already alluded, dealing with the exploits of Thucydides in Armenia.¹³⁹ In this fragment we find Martius Verus entrusting one Thucydides with the task *καταγαγὼν Σοαιμὸν εἰς Ἀρμενίαν*. He arrived at *Καυὴ Πόλις*, which was held by a garrison stationed there by Statius Priscus, put down *λόγῳ τε καὶ ἔργῳ* certain people, *νεωτερίζων παρωμένους*, and made the New City the Capital of Armenia.

This fragment has commonly been taken to record the installation of King Sohaemus at the close of the Armenian War of 163-4.¹⁴⁰ Suppose it is so: how does the story fit in with the facts already ascertained? In 164 Statius Priscus captures Artaxata and founds *Καυὴ Πόλις*, and leaves a Roman garrison there. He then retires from the country—and from history. What, then, is the state of affairs in Armenia meanwhile? There is no king; and the Roman garrison at the New City is the only result of the year's campaign. Priscus has retired as though his work was done. But certain rash persons attempt *νεωτερίζειν*. It is not a very serious matter, however, and Martius Verus, who apparently during the winter has replaced Priscus, does not even trouble to enter Armenia in person, but sends his officer Thucydides, who is easily able to *σωφρονίζων* the disturbers of the peace—they are indeed even amenable to reason (*λόγος*) when backed up by action (*ἔργον*)—and to accomplish his mission of setting up Sohaemus as king.

Surely this version of the story is not very plausible. The whole object of the Armenian War was to place the Roman nominee on the throne, and yet we are to believe that Priscus retired from the country after the first campaign, leaving only a garrison in his New City, and without troubling about the king, while the accomplishment of the real object of the war was, after all, a matter for a subordinate officer with a

¹³⁹ Frag. Dion. ap. Suidam, s.v. Μάρτιος.

¹⁴⁰ That the *Bellum Armeniacum* was completed in these two years, and that Sohaemus was made a king in 164, has already been shown to be certain from the numismatic evidence.

small detachment! Moreover, is not *νεωτερίζειν* *πειρωμένους* a rather unusual term for what was really simply the renewal of the struggle of the previous year? And was it quite courteous to Sohaemus, or likely to conciliate the Armenians to their new king, to send him along in a casual way by the hand of a mere underling—the delegate of a delegate? But there is a more fatal objection. The expression used here is *καταγαγεῖν Σοαμόν*. Sohaemus, then, had been in Armenia before. We are driven to the conclusion that the object of Thucydides' mission was to *restore* Sohaemus. But there is no evidence that he was ever king of Armenia before Verus' expedition; rather there is strong evidence against it.¹⁴¹ The passage cannot, therefore, be referred to the installation of Sohaemus in connexion with Verus' Armenian War. Surely its natural interpretation would be that some time after Sohaemus had been set on the throne in 165, there were disturbances (*νεωτερισμός*) which caused him to flee for assistance to Martius Verus, and that the latter then entrusted his subordinate Thucydides with the task of conducting him back.

It is possible that we have a reference to such disturbances in a passage of the epitome of Dio,¹⁴² where it is recorded as an instance of Marcus' clemency that he did not kill, but banished to Britain, the *satrap* Tiridates, *τά τε ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ παράξαντα, καὶ τὸν τῶν Ἡνιόχων βασιλείᾳ ἀποσφάζαντα, τῷ τε Βήρῳ ἐπιτιμῶντι οἱ περὶ τούτων τὸ ξίφος ἐπανατεινόμενον*. The satrap! Tiridates was a Parthian, then. The natural explanation is that we have one of the usual Parthian efforts to stir up trouble in Armenia. Verus sends to expostulate, but Tiridates flies to arms. What Verus? Not the emperor, for Dio calls him *Λούκιος*, when he does not give him his full name. The other two of the name who are active in the East are (a) Julius Verus, who was governor of Syria sometime between the recall of Attidius Cornelianus and the beginning of the rule of Avidius Cassius—i.e. some time

¹⁴¹ See authorities quoted by Eckhel, vol. vii. p. 91, and Mommsen, *Provinzen*, p. 407, n. 2.

¹⁴² Dio, lxxi. 14.

between 162 and 166¹⁴³—and (b) our friend Martius Verus. The former could hardly be meant here, for his governorship falls entirely within the period of the Parthian War, and obviously the episode of Tiridates does not belong to that period. Now, Martius Verus was, we know, governor of Cappadocia at the outbreak of Cassius' revolt in 175.¹⁴⁴ It is probable that he entered upon that office in 166, immediately after holding the consulship.¹⁴⁵ He was one of Verus' "comites" in the East, and came in for his share when Verus was giving "*regna regibus, provincias vero comitibus suis.*" Martius Verus, therefore, would be in 168 governor of Cappadocia, and so (like the ill-fated Severianus?) the natural protector of Armenia. I proceed to reconstruction.

After L. Verus' departure from the East, the Parthian king—who probably had not been humbled so completely as might have been desired, owing to the emperor's haste in leaving the scene of war, on account of the plague and the imperative call of the West—renewed his schemes against Armenia. Tiridates—perhaps, from his name, an Arsacid—was given a satrapy on the frontier, with instructions to do what he could with Armenia. As soon as Verus was safely occupied with the German War, Tiridates commenced operations by descents across the frontier, in the course of which he killed the king of the Heniochi (subjects or clients of Rome, we may suppose). Martius Verus sent to expostulate with Tiridates. He immediately flew to arms, no doubt in anticipation of assistance from malcontents within the country. He was in part successful; an attempt at a revolution took place at *Καينὴ Πόλις*, which resulted in shutting up the Roman garrison and sending the pusillanimous king Sohaemus to the knees of his protector Verus. As a whole, however, the

¹⁴³ Mommsen (*Provinzen*, p. 406, n. 2) places his term of office conjecturally in 163–164.

¹⁴⁴ Dio, lxxi. 23, δ δὲ δὴ Μάρκος παρὰ τοῦ Βήρου, τοῦ τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἀρχοντας τὴν ἐπανάστασιν αὐτοῦ μαθὼν. Is it possible, by the way, that this fact, that Verus—Martius Verus—warned Marcus of the revolt, lies behind those wonderful products of the imagination, the letters of L. Verus given by Vulcacius Gallicanus in *Hist. Aug.*, vi. 1, 2?

¹⁴⁵ See Napp, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

Armenians were fairly well content, and at any rate did not want a renewal of the war. A small expedition was arranged by the governor of Cappadocia, which relieved the garrison at *Καὶρή Πόλις*, pacified the malcontents, and restored Sohaemus. Tiridates, isolated, fell into the hands of the enemy, and was sent to Marcus in the West. He was regarded as a serious offender—that is required by the context in Dio—and in lieu of being put to death was banished to Britain, where he would be as far as possible from the only place where he was dangerous. The whole affair was only a passing episode. There was no fighting that entitled the emperors to a fresh *salutatio*. Overshadowed by the greater events on the Danube the episode was lost to history. But the senate saw in it an opportunity for passing a congratulatory address to the emperors, and Marcus *à propos* issued a medallion celebrating the victories of the great Parthian War, while Verus, with more explicit reference to the actual event in question, revived his ARMENIA type. It would be too much to say that the prostrate foe in the type is the meddlesome Tiridates, but that is the sort of impression he wished to be conveyed.

This reconstruction is, of course, highly speculative, and it may be thought that two coin-types are but a flimsy foundation. But if the theory propounded explains two otherwise very puzzling medallions, and provides a consistent interpretation of two passages in the literary authorities, which otherwise remain out of connexion with the history, then it is not entirely in the air. One can well believe that Armenia had many such experiences besides this disturbance of Tiridates, which have left no trace in the troublous history of that unhappy country.

APPENDIX II.

MESOPOTAMIA AFTER THE PARTHIAN WAR.

WE have seen that the bulk of the fighting in the Parthian War took place in that region of Mesopotamia which in the time of Severus was a Roman province. The question arises whether the province was constituted as a result of Verus'

operations. That such was the case is the belief of many authorities cited by Napp.¹⁴⁶ Schiller¹⁴⁷ gives the view a hesitating approval. Napp himself is doubtful in face of the lack of evidence. Mommsen¹⁴⁸ speaks not of a province, but of the occupation of the district through client states. I do not propose to discuss the general question, but merely to ask whether the Roman coins (leaving out of account the Greek issues cited by Mommsen and Napp) supply any evidence which would support one view or the other.

I am again dependent on Cohen for materials. He gives a bronze medallion as follows :¹⁴⁹

Obv.—L. VERVS AVG. ARM. PARTH. MAX. Bust l., laureate, loricæ.

Rev.—TR. P. VIII. IMP. V. COS. III. Marcus and Verus standing in military costume facing each other, each crowned by a Victory, each holding spear, and placing one foot on a river-deity (male to l., female to r.); between them a captive.

Æ^m.

Now, this type of a captive between two rivers recalls at once the striking personification of Mesopotamia on the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum—as a female figure between two river-deities. With this parallel in mind it is tempting to quote a coin of Trajan given by Cohen,¹⁵⁰ the reverse of which is as follows :

Rev.—ARMENIA ET MESOPOTAMIA IN POTESTATEM P. R. REDACTAE. S. C. Trajan standing r. in military costume, holding spear and *parazonium*, and placing one foot on a female figure reclining on the ground; on either side, a river-deity reclining, holding a rose-bough and leaning on an urn.

Æ^l.

It would be very attractive to see in the Verus coin a record of *Mesopotamia in potestatem populi Romani redacta*. Verus would then claim to be the renewer of Trajan's work—as indeed to some extent he was.

¹⁴⁶ Napp, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

¹⁴⁷ Schiller, *Gesch. d. röm. Kaiserzeit*, vol. i. p. 642.

¹⁴⁸ Mommsen, *Prov.*, p. 408.

¹⁴⁹ Cohen, vol. iii., *L. V.*, 328.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., *Traj.*, 39.

But the date, 169, is somewhat suspicious. If Mesopotamia was made a province at all it was made a province in 166. Why, then, this long interval of three years? Further, there is another medallion of Verus¹⁵¹ which may throw light on the subject:

Obv.—L. AVREL. VERVS AVG. ARMENIACVS IMP. II. TR.
P. IIII. COS. II. Head r., laureate.

Rev.—No inscription. Same type as No. 328.

Æⁿ.

Here, then, we have the supposed Mesopotamia type appearing with the Armenian title and the Armenian *salutatio* in 164, before the operations in Mesopotamia started. The land between the rivers in this case, therefore, is Armenia. And, after all, the reminiscence of the Trajan coin does not suggest Mesopotamia any more than Armenia. Verus still claims to be the successor of Trajan, but in respect of his work in the northern country. What the two rivers may in this case be I know not. Perhaps they are still Euphrates and Tigris, which, after all, are both rivers of Armenia. Or one of them may be the Araxes. That need not trouble us, for if Trajan saw fit to inscribe ARMENIA on his coin, there was no reason why Verus should not imitate the type and imply Armenia. The revival of the type in 169, I should connect, although a year late, with the Armenian and Parthian revivals discussed in Appendix I., and attribute it to the same cause.

The result of this inquiry, therefore, is merely negative. The only possible allusion to Mesopotamia on the imperial coinage is shown not to provide any evidence for the treatment of Mesopotamia after the war, and we are thrown back upon external evidence.

C. H. D.

¹⁵¹ Cohen, vol. iii., L. V., 848.

XII.

NOTES ON THE REIGN OF WILLIAM I.

(See Plates XIV.-XVII.)

I. THE BERKELEY MINT.

THE only coin of William I attributed to the Berkeley Mint is that described in the *British Numismatic Journal*¹ by Mr. Carlyon-Britton, to whom it belongs. In this attribution there are two points which arouse suspicion: the first is the strange reading BAREI for this mint, and the second the unusual form of A which appears in this reading. The form of the letter A which is used throughout the "Paxs" type, with the exception of this one coin, consists of two upright strokes set either parallel to each other or sloping towards each other at their upper ends (ⅨⅨ, ⅨⅨ)²; on this coin, however, the limbs of the letter A are wedge-shaped, united at the apex, requiring a form of the letter similar to that seen commonly in the third and fourth classes of the Short-cross series (𐌆). But a coin in the British Museum struck from the same dies as this "Berkeley" coin shows the correct reading of the mint to be EXEII [Pl. XIV. 1]; a flaw in the punches

¹ *B. N. J.*, vol. vi. p. 147; illustrated on Pl. xiii. (Fig. 1) of the same volume.

² In the word PAXS the different form of A is always used, perhaps as a conventional form or as one more decorative to the type; in the Pax types of Harold and Henry I the same difference is made between the lettering of the type and that of the legend.

used for the horizontal strokes of the letter E has given this letter somewhat the appearance of a B or R, and the two wedge-shaped marks of the second letter, which were mistaken for the limbs of an A, are seen to be the lower limbs of X (X̄). The legend in full should therefore be *LIFPINE ON EXEEL*. The reading *EXEEL*, is confirmed by other Exeter coins struck by the same moneyer with the same obverse die. Mr. Carlyon-Britton has accepted this view, and therefore approves of the removal of his coin from Berkeley to Exeter.

II. COMPARISON OF DIES.

The fact that the obverse, or standard, die lasted longer than the upper, or reverse, die has naturally resulted in many of the coins that now survive bearing the impression of the same obverse die though different dies were used for the reverse, and from this point of view a comparison has been made of the dies of all coins of William I in the British Museum.² Small results could be obtained from the rarer types, but the "Paxs" type is, thanks to the Beaworth hoard, so well represented in the National Collection, which contains between six and seven hundred coins of this type alone, that it has yielded some interesting results. Coins struck from the same obverse die may be divided into three groups:—
 (1) those struck by the same moneyer at the same mint;
 (2) those struck by different moneyers at the same mint;
 (3) those struck at different mints.

² Several coins in other collections have also been examined, notably that of Mr. Carlyon-Britton, some of which are mentioned and illustrated in this paper; to him and to several other gentlemen, who have kindly lent coins, my thanks are due.

(1) Coins struck with the same obverse die by the same moneyer at the same mint are of course common enough, and with this class investigations bring little result beyond assigning correct attributions, *e.g.* the eighteen halfpennies found in the Beaworth hoard can in this way be attributed to their mints, which are:—Dover (1), Ipswich (1), Lincoln (1), London (1), Norwich (1), Southwark (1), Wareham (2), and Winchester (10). A coin of the "Paxs" type, which reads SPRIEELINE ON EI [PL. XIV. 2], and which seems to be the only coin of the moneyer Spraecline that can be attributed to Chichester, is struck from the same obverse die as a Winchester coin reading SPRIEELINE ON PNE [PL. XIV. 3]. Winchester coins of this moneyer are common, and there seems little doubt that the EI coin was also struck at that mint; the inscription was probably blundered by the engraver, and the three letters PIN fell out between ON and EI through the workman mistaking the N of ON for N of PIN. This form of ellipse is very common in manuscripts and even in printed books of the present day; on coins a close parallel may be seen in the Montagu Sale Catalogue, Part V., Lot 76, in which the coin of William I's "Two-Stars" type, reading "Anderboo on Cst" (for Wincst), omits the same three letters as are omitted on this Spraecline coin.⁴ A similar error occurs on the "Paxs" type coins reading GODPINE ONNDNEI, one of which, in Mr. Carlyon-Britton's collection [PL. XIV. 4], is struck from the same obverse die as a coin in the British Museum reading GODPINE ON LVND [PL. XIV. 5], leaving no doubt of the correct attribution of these coins to London.

⁴ *B. N. J.*, vol. vi. p. 169.

In the same category may be placed the coin of the "Paxs" type, reading GODESBRAND ONE⁵ [Pl. XIV. 7], as it is struck from the same obverse die as one reading GODSBRAND ON SLF, and another, in Mr. Carlyon-Britton's collection, reading GODSBRIIND ON SE [Pl. XIV. 6, 8], and was therefore most probably struck at Shaftesbury and the first letter of the mint omitted.⁶ In the same type an obverse die at Chester connecting a coin reading VNNVLF ON EESTRE [Pl. XIV. 9] with coins of Sunoulf [Pl. XIV. 10] strengthens the probability that one moneyer is intended in these two forms, as also in Osbern and Esbern at Salisbury; at Bristol Brwode is probably an error for Brihtword, whose obverse die is used in conjunction with a reverse bearing this name.

(2) The following is a complete list of pairs (and occasional triplets) of moneyers using the same obverse die at the same mint on coins of the "Paxs" type in the British Museum (numbers are added in brackets where more than one die is used by the same pair of moneyers):—

BATH	Aegelmie and Osmaer.
BRISTOL	Brunstan and Swegn.
CANTERBURY	Aelfred and Burnod. Aelfred and Wulfric. Godric and Wulfric (2). Godric and Simaer.
DOVER	Edword and Goldwine. Lifwine and Lulfric.
EXETER	Lifwine and Semaer (2). Lifwine and Sewine.

⁵ *B. N. J.*, vol. ii. p. 52, and vol. iii. p. 138.

⁶ Cf. also *N. C.*, 1910, p. 302.

GLOUCESTER . .	Silac, Silac Wine, and Ufgaet. Silac Wine and Ufgaet.
HEREFORD . .	Lifstan and Ordwi.
IPSWICH . . .	Aelfric and Wulfwine.
LEWES . . .	Oswold and Winraed.
LONDON . . .	Edric and Eadwi.
NORWICH . . .	Godwine and Howord. Godwine and Ulfcitel.
NOTTINGHAM . .	Atser and Mann.
OXFORD . . .	Swetman and Wulfwi.
SHAFTESBURY . .	Aelnod and Cnihtwine. Aelnod, Cnihtwine, and Godesbrand.
SHREWSBURY . .	Aernewi and Godesbrand. Aernewi, Godesbrand, and Segrin.
WALLINGFORD . .	Aegelwine and Swirtinc.
WILTON . . .	Sefaroi and Sewine.
WINCHESTER . .	Aestan and Brunic (2). Aestan and Spraecline. Aestan and Liofwold. Godwine and Liofwold (4).
WORCESTER . .	Baldric and Sewine.
YORK . . .	Aleif and Leisinc.

The use of four different obverse dies by the same pair, Godwine and Liofwold, at Winchester, and of two dies by five pairs (at Canterbury, Exeter, Shaftesbury, Shrewsbury, and Winchester), militates against a theory that this phenomenon of two or more moneyers using the same die is due to the demise or retirement of one moneyer and the passing on of his obverse die to his successor. Indeed, at Winchester the pair using four different dies seems rather to point to a state of things similar to that described by Mr. Kenyon⁷ as existing in the reign of Henry III at the Shrewsbury Mint, where

⁷ *N. C.*, 1899, p. 122.

pairs of moneyers appear to have worked in relays, in which case one might possibly assume that such pairs of moneyers were not careful to keep their obverse dies separate.

The most interesting pairs are those of Shaftesbury and Shrewsbury. Mr. Carlyon-Britton⁸ has tentatively attributed coins of the moneyer Cnihtwine to St. Edmundsbury, but as this moneyer uses two dies that are also used by Aelnod of Shaftesbury, there seems no doubt that his coins of type viii. were struck at Shaftesbury, nor is there any difficulty in attributing his coins of other types to the same mint, one of which in the British Museum (of the "Two-Stars" type, Hks. 238) reads LITPINE ON SAF. The moneyer Godesbrand has always given difficulty; coins bearing that name with mint-readings SE and S in the British Museum Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon coins (Edward the Confessor) were attributed to Shaftesbury, but a coin, recently acquired, with the reading SER, makes it probable that these were all struck at Shrewsbury. In the reign of William I coins of this moneyer of types vi. (243) and vii. (239), which read SEF, SE, belong presumably to Shaftesbury; type viii., however, has the readings SEF, SE, E, SI, SRI; the occurrence of coins with the first two readings (SEF, SE) struck from the same obverse die as coins of Aelnod of Shaftesbury, and the occurrence of others with the last two readings (SI, SRI) struck from two obverse dies used by Aernewi of Shrewsbury, leave little room for doubt that there was a moneyer of the name of Godesbrand at both these mints, and that coins reading SEF, SE, or E⁹

⁸ Spink's Circular, 1902; *B. N. J.*, vol. III, p. 182.

⁹ See above, p. 271.

must be attributed to Shaftesbury and those reading SRI or SI to Shrewsbury.

(3) Coins of the "Paxs" type occur, struck from the same obverse die, at the following pairs of mints:—

BARNSTAPLE (Seword) and **EXETER** (Semier). [Pl. XV. 1-4.]—That this die was used first at Barnstaple and then sent to Exeter may be seen by the first L and the R in the inscription; the letters are quite clean on the Barnstaple coins (Nos. 1, 2), but on the Exeter coins (Nos. 3, 4) scratches may be seen in the L and a spot of rust at the top outer edge of the R. One coin of each mint in the National Collection, and one of each in Mr. Carlyon-Britton's collection, are figured on the plate. This is further confirmation, if any were needed, of the interpretation of the mint as Barnstaple instead of Bardney.¹⁰

CANTERBURY (Godric) and **HYTHE** (Edred). [Pl. XV. 5, 6.]—The die was used first at Canterbury and afterwards at Hythe. The Hythe coin (No. 6) was struck when the die was badly rusted (it is curious that apparently all Hythe coins of the "Paxs" type were struck from rusty dies), but at the time the Canterbury piece (No. 5) was struck the die was clean; also on the Canterbury coin are just visible the beginnings of two cracks, one starting in a triangular flaw under the second L of the inscription (the flaw appears twice owing to double striking) and extending just beyond the right side of the king's chin; the other, a very fine line, stretching diagonally from right to left across the neck. On the Hythe coin these cracks have grown so as to be now clearly visible, and the one across the face has extended through the field from chin to shoulder.

GUILDFORD (Seric) and **CHICHESTER** (Bruman). [Pl. XV. 7-10.]—This die was sent from Guildford to Chichester.

¹⁰ *N. C.*, 1897, pp. 302 ff.; 1898, pp. 274 ff.

On one of the Guildford coins struck from this die in the British Museum (No. 8 on the Plate) and on Mr. Carlyon-Britton's specimen, a tiny mark of rust is just visible in the curve of the arm, on another specimen in the Museum this is not yet visible (No. 7); on one Chichester coin (No. 9) this is seen slightly increased, and on another (No. 10) it has grown to about $\frac{1}{16}$ inch in diameter, in which condition it also appears on Chichester coins belonging to Mr. Lincoln and MM. Rollin and Feuarent. Also the outline of the crown on the latest Chichester coins is furred with rust on the side near the sceptre, which is just noticeable on the earlier Chichester piece, but on the Guildford coins the outline is perfectly clean and sharp; the neck, too, shows similar growth of rust, the earlier coins showing no rust here.

MARLBOROUGH (Cild) and SALISBURY (Esbern and Osbern¹¹). [Pl. XV. 11-13.]—A crack across the second L of the inscription, invisible on the Marlborough coin (No. 11), but clearly marked on a Salisbury coin (No. 12) in the British Museum, and more strongly pronounced on another in Mr. Carlyon-Britton's collection (No. 13), shows that this die was in use first at Marlborough and afterwards at Salisbury. This is confirmed by a mark of rust in the outer edge of the upright stroke of the P, which is just perceptible to the naked eye on the Marlborough coin, but on the Salisbury pieces has increased considerably; the angles of the initial cross show a similar growth of rust.

SALISBURY (Esbern) and MARLBOROUGH (Cild). [Pl. XV. 14-17.]—That this die went from Salisbury to Marlborough is proved by a crack across the face which is seen on the Salisbury coins (Nos. 14, 15) stretching from the king's right eye to the fleur of his sceptre; on the Marlborough coins (Nos. 16, 17) it has extended beyond the eye as far as the inner circle. Besides two Salisbury coins in the British Museum, one belonging

¹¹ See above, p. 271.

to Mr. Carlyon-Britton and two belonging to Mr. Ready show the crack in its earlier condition, and the two coins of Marlborough, one in the British Museum and the other in Mr. Carlyon-Britton's collection, both show it extended across the field.

These two Marlborough coins [Pl. XV. 11, 16], struck from two obverse dies of which one went to Salisbury and the other came from Salisbury, are struck from the same reverse die [Pl. XV. 11a, 16a], that last mentioned (whose obverse die came from Salisbury) being struck later than the other (whose obverse die was afterwards sent to Salisbury) as the earlier piece shows the die quite clean and the later one was not struck till its whole surface was furred with rust.

SALISBURY (Esbern and Osbern) and **WILTON** (Sewine). [Pl. XVI. 1-3.]—This die was used first at Salisbury, afterwards at Wilton. A Salisbury coin from this obverse die (No. 1) shows the field to left of the forehead quite clean, another (No. 2) has a slight scratch and scarcely perceptible pin-prick which has grown on the Wilton coin (No. 3) sufficiently to be clearly visible: more traces of rust appear on this coin which are not seen on the Salisbury pieces. Another Salisbury coin, in the possession of Mr. Carlyon-Britton, and two belonging to Mr. Lincoln were struck from this obverse die before any trace of rust appeared.

WILTON (Sefaroi and Sewine¹²) and **SALISBURY** (Osbern). [Pl. XVI. 4-7.]—This die went the contrary way, from Wilton to Salisbury. The Sefaroi coins (Nos. 4, P.C.B., and 5, B.M.), of which four more specimens belong to Messrs. Spink and one other to the National Collection, show a clean surface on the neck and a very few small points of rust in the field to left; the Sewine coin of Wilton shows rust-marks on the neck and more and larger marks in the field, and the Salisbury coin shows the die in similar condition to this Sewine piece, though being worn the marks are less clear. These

¹² See above, p. 272.

would prevent any possibility of judging whether this or the Sewine coin were the earlier, but the cleaner surface of the Sefaroi coins proves that the die was in use at Wilton before it went to Salisbury. The sharper angles of the initial cross also mark the Sefaroi coins as earlier than the Sewine and Salisbury pieces.

CRICKLADE (Aelfwine) and WILTON (Aelfwine). [Pl. XVI. 8-11.]—The die was sent from Cricklade to Wilton. A small mark of rust is seen attached to the inner circle below the upright of the third L on two Cricklade coins (Nos. 9, 10) belonging to Mr. Carlyon-Britton and Mr. Talbot Ready; on the British Museum piece (No. 8), the earliest struck, there is no trace of this, but on the Wilton coin (No. 11) it is larger and connects the L with the inner circle. Traces of rust may also be seen in the E of Willelm and between the E and L which do not appear on the Cricklade coin in the National Collection.

SHREWSBURY (Godesbrand) and ST. DAVID'S (Turri). [Pl. XVI. 12-14.]—This pair has already been noticed by Mr. Carlyon-Britton.¹³ The die went from Shrewsbury to St. David's; the crack just visible to left of the neck on the British Museum coin of Shrewsbury (No. 12) is slightly increased on Mr. Carlyon-Britton's coin of the same mint (No. 13) and on the St. David's coin, also in Mr. Carlyon-Britton's collection (No. 14) it is considerably thickened; other scratches and rust-marks are more pronounced on the St. David's coin than on those of Shrewsbury.

LONDON (Aelfred) and SOUTHWARK (Osmund). [Pl. XVI. 15-17.]—The die was in use at London before it went to Southwark; the Southwark coins (No. 17) show the die to be very rusty, notably in the field to left of the head; the beginning of this streak of rust is just visible in a few small spots on the inner circle of the London coins (Nos. 15, 16); the die has also

¹³ *B. N. J.*, vol. ii. p. 50.

cracked across the neck since the London coins were struck.

LONDON (Godwine) and IPSWICH (Alfwine or Ulfwine). [Pl. XVI. 18, 19.]—The Ipswich coin (No. 19) is in poor condition, and no conclusion can be drawn from the state of the die at which mint it was first used.

Of the Second or "Bonnet" type the following pairs are connected in this way:—

LONDON (?) (uncertain moneyer) and THETFORD (Cinric). [Pl. XVI. 20, 21.]—The reverse of the London coin (No. 20) is blundered and the attribution therefore not quite certain; it seems to read ON LVND ON LVND.

THETFORD (Cinric) and an uncertain mint, MAINT . . . (Brhtwi). [Pl. XVII. 1, 2.]—The second coin (No. 2) reads BRHTPI ON MAINT, and its attribution is quite uncertain. Mainestune in Yorkshire, suggested by Sainthill,¹⁴ will not suit the case of the die being used also at Thetford; a similar objection meets the idea, which is naturally raised by the moneyer's name, that MAINT is a blundered attempt at Malmesbury.

Of the Third or "Pavilion" type a die went from—

LONDON (Sibode) to EXETER (Aelfwine). [Pl. XVII. 3-6.]—The outline of the V and S is clear on the two London coins (Nos. 3, B.M., and 4, P.C.B.), but on the Exeter coins (Nos. 5, B.M., and 6, P.C.B.) rust has formed at the top of the second stroke of V and in the curves of S. On the London piece in the National Collection all the jewels of the crown are distinct, a smear of rust hanging above them on the upper line; on the Exeter coins this rust has extended and obliterates four of the jewels.

Of the four dies used at London, two were sent from London, one to Southwark and the other to Exeter, and

¹⁴ Akerman, *N. J.*, vol. ii. p. 49.

of the other two it seems natural to assume that they also were sent from London on the appointment of a new moneyer or on the issue of a new type, an old die being sent instead of a new one in order to avoid the delay of making the obverse die.

Of the other pairs of mints it will be noticed that in each case, except one, the die served two mints which lay very little distance apart, Cricklade and Wilton being the farthest, a distance of about forty miles as the crow flies; the one exception, Shrewsbury and St. David's, is hardly a true exception, for Shrewsbury, which commanded the roads to Central and South Wales as Chester did the Northern road to Anglesey, is, historically speaking, the nearest English town to St. David's, though Hereford is geographically five or ten miles nearer. The natural inference, however, that the small mints were served with dies from larger mints in their district is untenable, for though in some cases (*e.g.* Canterbury-Hythe, Shrewsbury-St. David's) the die is sent from the larger to the smaller mint, yet other and more frequent examples show the reverse case (*e.g.* Barnstaple-Exeter, Guildford-Chichester, Cricklade-Wilton), and if we could assume these cases to be caused by the closure of the smaller mint and the return of the dies to the mint that supplied them, we are still met with the difficulty that a die goes from Wilton to Salisbury and another from Salisbury to Wilton, both of which mints issued coins of the last two types of William I and of the first two types of William II, showing that neither mint can be assumed to have closed at this period; also a die goes from Marlborough to Salisbury and, *later*,¹⁵ another from Salisbury

¹⁵ From the condition of the reverse die; see above, p. 276.

to Marlborough, showing that the die was not sent from Marlborough to Salisbury owing to the closure of the Marlborough Mint, unless it be assumed that it were closed for a time and reopened shortly after, and the old reverse die returned in a rusty condition together with a fresh obverse that had been in use previously at Salisbury—an absurd assumption. One can only deduce that it was sometimes possible, perhaps on occasions of urgent necessity when speed was the only consideration,¹⁶ for a moneyer to obtain an obverse die from a moneyer of a neighbouring mint. The one certain conclusion that may be drawn is that not all dies used in the provincial mints were received from London, or at least not direct from London.¹⁷ The opinion that all dies were issued

¹⁶ Such an occasion might be the visit of the king. Cf. Domesday of Hereford (folio 179): "Quando veniebat rex in civitatem, quantum volebat denarium faciebant ei monetarii de argento scilicet regis."

¹⁷ At the meeting of the Royal Numismatic Society on May 18, 1911, at which this paper was read, Mr. Lawrence put forward a suggestion that all dies were made in London, and that, in order to facilitate the making of obverse dies, a puncheon was made from which several obverse dies were punched; this suggestion is very important, as coins struck from dies which were made with the same puncheon would have the appearance of being struck from the same die, and, could we accept this theory, the coins mentioned in this paper as being struck at different mints from *the same* obverse die would thus be explained as having been struck from *different* obverse dies which were themselves made from one puncheon. That this theory suggested by Mr. Lawrence is untenable, is shown by the traces of rust to which attention has been drawn throughout the paper. That these marks are caused by rust on the die is shown by two things, (1) they are in relief on the coin and therefore incuse on the die, (2) they are seen to spread and thicken on later issues from the same die. With this puncheon theory these marks, in order to appear on two coins would, if the coins were struck from two dies made from the same puncheon, appear on both dies, and therefore be originally on the puncheon with which the two dies were made; but the steps between puncheon and coin are two, so that what appears in relief on the coin is in relief on the puncheon (being incuse on the intermediate form, or die), and no flaw in relief on a metal surface can

from London, or another central mint, rests originally on the following three passages in Domesday:—

(1)¹⁸ “In civitate Wirecestre quando moneta vertebatur quisque monetarius dabat xx solidos ad Lundoniam pro cuneis monetae accipiendis.”

(2)¹⁹ “Septem monetarii erant in civitate [Hereford]. Unus ex his erat monetarius episcopi. Quando moneta renovatur dabat quisque eorum xviii solidos pro cuneis recipiendis; et ex eo die quo redibant usque ad unum mensem dabat quisque eorum regi xx solidos et similiter habebat episcopus de suo monetario xx solidos.”

(3)²⁰ “Tres monetarios habebat ibi [in Sciropesberie] rex, qui, postquam coemissent cuneos monetae ut alii monetarii patriae, xv die dabant regi xx solidos unusquisque; et hoc fiebat moneta vertente.”

Ruding²¹ deduced from these passages that all dies were made in London and thence distributed to provincial

gradually grow as these flaws have been shown to do on all these coins, as, for instance, the smear of rust over the jewels of the crown on the London-Exeter coins of the Pavilion type (Pl. XVII. 3-6), nor yet can flaws in relief gradually decrease, which must have happened were the order in which I have said these were struck incorrect. Perhaps the clearest instance is the Guildford-Chichester coins, where the mark in the curve of the arm is seen growing gradually larger (Pl. XV. 7-10) or, if my order were incorrect, gradually smaller. Any cleaning of the dies would not gradually lessen such a flaw, but remove it altogether or leave it altogether. The only flaw that will fulfil this condition is an incuse flaw caused originally either by rust or a scratch which goes deeper as the rust eats further into the metal surface, and gradually causes larger flaws in relief on the impressions taken from that surface. As then these flaws show themselves to be incuse in their original form there is clearly one step only from the original instrument to the coins themselves; the original instrument, therefore, is not a puncheon that struck dies, but the actual die that struck the coins.

¹⁸ Vol. i. folio 172.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 179.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 252.

²¹ *Annals*, vol. i. pp. 43, 49; vol. ii. p. 135.

mints, a theory generally accepted by later writers,²² modified by an occasional extension of die-engraving powers to Winchester²³ and other towns,²⁴ these writers all agreeing that this conclusion is required by the close resemblance between coins struck at different mints. But the passages in Domesday give no authority for such a theory; each passage states that a payment was made for receipt of dies when the money was changed, neither says that dies were received on any other occasion than when the money was changed; in fact, the Shrewsbury passage puts it very definitely, saying that fifteen days after the moneyers bought their dies they made a payment to the king *and this was done when the money was renewed*. Nor does there seem sufficient reason for adopting this theory to account for the close resemblance between coins struck in various parts of the country. We know that each mint had to get an obverse and reverse die from London whenever a new type was issued, and the natural assumption seems to be that the provincial mints used this as a model from which to make other dies (using the original also for coining). There is no reason why skilful workmen should not reproduce their originals almost exactly, for we know from marks on the coins that some system of measurement was used in spacing out the surface of the die.²⁵ Thus the greater or

²² *British Museum Cat. of English Coins*, vol. ii. pp. civ, cx; Grueber, *Handbook of Coins of Great Britain and Ireland*, pp. xxiii-xxiv; Lawrence, *B. N. J.*, vol. ii. pp. 411 ff. (noting occasional exceptions).

²³ Carlyon-Britton, *B. N. J.*, vol. ii. p. 91.

²⁴ Packer, *N. C.*, 1898, pp. 129 ff. (who looked upon the types as being in great measure contemporary). Sainthill, *N. C.*, 1840, p. 45, ignoring Domesday, suggested that coins of the different types were sent to the provincial mints to copy.

²⁵ *B. N. J.*, vol. ii. p. 91.

less skill of the workmen employed will account for the close resemblance of some and the marked difference of other coins compared with the majority of the same type. This difference is noticed in many individual coins, and has frequently been remarked in one or two instances as showing that certain mints at least (*e.g.* St. David's²⁶) may have engraved their own dies. Notable instances during this reign are the following:—

- Type ii. "Bonnet" type . Lincoln (two obverse dies of Seward closely resembling each other, of very poor work).
Norwich (an obverse die of Aedwine of coarse work).
- Type iii. "Pavilion" type . Winchester (an obverse die of Goldine).
- Type iv. "Two Sceptres" type Lincoln, Stamford, and York coins.
- Type vi. "Sword" type . Exeter (an obverse die of Wulfwine).
- Type viii. "Paxs" type . St. David's coins and the Shrewsbury die which was sent to St. David's.

Another important point in this connexion is the reproduction of the same mistake on different dies. A singular instance of this is seen on Thetford coins of the moneyer Cinric of type ii., one of which reads—

EINRIE ON +IEOTNF

and the other—

EINRIE ON D+IEOTNF. [Pl. XVII. 7, 8.]

²⁶ *B. N. J.*, vol. II, p. 413.

The omission of the initial cross might possibly be intentional. The mistake at the beginning of the mint on the first coin is easily explained: instead of punching a curve after the cross at the beginning of the mint-name to make Ð (+J) the engraver has punched an upright stroke (+I); the second coin seems to follow on this, and apparently the second die was engraved from the first, in this case the workman knowing that the mint should begin ÐEOT, and being puzzled by the blunder on the die he was copying (possibly supposing it to be meant for H) put in D and left the H(?) after it. This mistake cannot be explained as a misreading by the London engraver of the inscription given him to inscribe on the die, for the first is essentially an engraver's error (the use of a wrong punch), and the second seems to be copied from the first. Unless dies were made at the provincial mints, such errors as this and the "local" work of dies of which examples are given above seem quite inexplicable.

III. ALTERATIONS OF DIES.

Two "Paxs" coins in the British Museum read respectively—

+IELRIC ON PERPIE
and +LIFRIC ON PERPIE [Pl. XVII. 9, 10.]

These two coins are both struck from the same reverse die, the "Aelric" coin having been first struck and the die then changed to "Lifric." Doubtless the London engraver had mistaken the moneyer's name, and when the mistake was discovered, after some coins had been struck, the die was altered; whether the die was sent

back to London for alteration or altered at Warwick there is nothing definite to show; but one can hardly believe that the moneyer would go to the expense and trouble of a journey from Warwick to London to have the mistake put right; if it was done at Warwick there must have been the necessary engraving irons to hand at that mint, as the correct name is evidently punched with ordinary irons. No other coins of Aelric are known struck at Warwick. A similar alteration may be seen at Maldon on a coin of the same type reading +IELFORD ON MIEL [Pl. XVII. 11], on which the D is clearly punched over a previous E and the OR perhaps over N.

More interesting is a series of coins struck from altered dies belonging to the first three types of William I; the coin of type i. [Pl. XVII. 12], which belongs to Mr. Carlyon-Britton and has been published by him,²⁷ seems to have read originally—

+ELFSI ON LVNDE


and to have been altered to—

+ELPP (or D?) I ON EXEE(S?) DE

by punching strokes over the original inscription (see Fig. 1 below). Coins of type ii. from one reverse die have the original inscription—

+IELFS ON LVNDENI

altered in a similar way to—

+IDEFI ON EV(or A?)  ENI

[Pl. XVII. 13, and Fig. 2 below.]

Two coins in the British Museum struck from this

²⁷ *B. N. J.*, vol. v. p. 101.

altered reverse die have the same obverse die as a coin reading—

+IEOLFSI ON LVNDEN [Pl. XVII. 14]

which confirms the attribution of these coins to the moneyer Aelfsi.²⁸

A coin of the third type in Mr. Carlyon-Britton's collection reads—

+IELFSI ON LVNDENEN [Pl. XVII. 15]

which legend is partly defaced by cuts on the die over the mint and moneyer's names (see Fig. 3).

+ELFSIONEENDE

FIG. 1.

+IELFSONCINDENI

FIG. 2.

+IELFSIONCINDENEN

FIG. 3.

It will be noticed that these three dies belong, apparently, all to the same moneyer, Aelfsi; that they are dies of three consecutive types, the first three of the reign; that the alterations are not accidental but clearly intentional, as in each case the moneyer's name and the important part (*i.e.* the beginning) of the mint-name has suffered and ON and the last few letters of the mint have escaped; and further, in the first two cases clearly, and possibly in the third also, the intention was to change the mint-reading to that of another well-known mint (*viz.* Exeter and Canterbury; to the latter mint the "Idelfis" coins were for a long time attributed). The

²⁸ *B. N. J.*, vol. iii, p. 144.

weight of the first coin is 16·3 grains, a low weight for coins of the first type which are fairly constant in weight. Type i. coins of London in the British Museum all weigh above 18·5 grains except two struck with unaltered dies by the moneyer Aelfsi, and these weigh 16·5 and 17·3 grains. Coins struck from the second altered die weigh 18·1, 17, and 15·9 grains, and many coins of the second type weigh as low, but it is interesting to see that the "Bonnet" type coins of Aelfsi in the British Museum with unaltered dies weigh as much as 18·2, 19·5, and 20·5 grains. The coin of the third or "Pavilion" type weighs 17·5 grains, which is also not remarkably low for this type, but the only coin of Aelfsi of this type that the British Museum possesses weighs as high as 21·3 grains. There seems no doubt that these three altered dies were the work of a fraudulent moneyer who issued coins of low weight at the very commencement of the reign with his dies unaltered, and then, having rather ingeniously tampered with his dies in the hope of avoiding detection, he issued coins of low weight (and perhaps baser metal) with these altered dies, taking care at the same time to keep the coins he issued from his untouched dies well up to, or rather above, the average standard; and one can hardly resist the temptation of noting here a fact which may be mere coincidence, that no coins of this moneyer are known later than type iii., and of concluding from this that he suffered the penalty he so well deserved. It is interesting to note that the forgeries of the first two types are evidently worked with regular coining irons, which seems to show that the moneyers at least had access to the engraver's tools if they had not sets of their own.

G. C. BROOKE.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES.

PLATE XIV.

1. Exeter. +LIFPINE ON EXEEL. British Museum.
From same dies as "Berkeley" coin.
2. Winchester† +SPRIEELINE ON EL. British Museum }
3. Winchester. +SPRAELINE ON PNE. " }
- From same obverse die.
4. London. +GODPINE ONDNEI. Mr. Carlyon-Britton }
5. " +GODPINE ON LVND. British Museum }
- From same obverse die.
6. Shaftesbury. +GODSBRANDONSET British Museum }
7. Shaftesbury† +GODESBRANDONC " }
8. Shaftesbury. +GODSBRANDONSC Mr. " Carlyon-
Britton }
- From same obverse die.
9. Chester. +VNNVLF ON LESTRE British Museum }
10. " +SVNOVLF ON LECI " }
- From same obverse die.

PLATE XV.

1. Barnstaple. +SEPORD ON BARD British Museum }
2. " " " Mr. Carlyon-Britton }
3. Exeter. +SEMER ON IEXEE British Museum }
4. " " " Mr. Carlyon-Britton }
- From same obverse die.
5. Canterbury. +GODRIE ON ENTLE British Museum }
6. Hythe. +EDRED ON HIVDI " }
- From same obverse die.
7. Guildford. +SERIE ON GILDFRD British Museum }
8. " " " " }
9. Chichester. +BRVMAN ON EIST " }
10. " +BRVMAN ONLIE " }
- From same obverse die.
11. H.A. Marlborough. +EILD ON MIERLEB Brit. Mus. }
12. Salisbury. +OSBERN ON SERB British Museum }
13. " " " Mr. Carlyon-Britton }
- From same obverse die.

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|------------------|---------------------|---|
| 14. Salisbury. | +ESBRN ON SERBR | British Museum | } |
| 15. | +ESBRN ON SERBRI | " | |
| 16, 16A. Marlborough. | +EILD ON MIERLEB | Brit. Mus. | |
| 17. | " " " | Mr. Carlyon-Britton | |
- From same obverse die.

PLATE XVI.

- | | | | |
|---------------|-------------------|----------------|---|
| 1. Salisbury. | +OSBERN ON SIERBI | British Museum | } |
| 2. " | +ESBRN ON SERBR | " | |
| 3. Wilton. | +SEFINE ON PILTV | " | |
- From same obverse die.
- | | | | |
|---------------|------------------|---------------------|---|
| 4. " | +SEFAROI ON PITI | Mr. Carlyon-Britton | } |
| 5. " | | British Museum | |
| 6. " | +SEFINE ON PILTV | " | |
| 7. Salisbury. | +OSBERN ON SIER | " | |
- From same obverse die.
- | | | | |
|---------------|------------------|---------------------|---|
| 8. Cricklade. | +IELFINE ON ERIC | British Museum | } |
| 9. " | " " | Mr. Carlyon-Britton | |
| 10. " | " " | Mr. W. T. Ready | |
- | | | | |
|-------------|------------------|------------------------|---|
| 11. Wilton. | +IELFINE ON PITV | British Museum | } |
| | | From same obverse die. | |
- | | | | |
|------------------|-------------------|---------------------|---|
| 12. Shrewsbury. | +GODESBRAND ON SI | Brit. Mus. | } |
| 13. " | " " | Mr. Carlyon-Britton | |
| 14. St. David's. | +TVRRI ON DEVITVN | Mr. Carlyon-Britton | |
- From same obverse die.
- | | | | |
|----------------|-----------------|----------------|---|
| 15. London. | +ALFRIED ON LVN | British Museum | } |
| 16. " | +ALFRED ON LVND | " | |
| 17. Southwark. | +OSMVND ON SVDI | " | |
- From same obverse die.
- | | | | |
|--------------|------------------|----------------|---|
| 18. London. | +GODFINE ON LVND | British Museum | } |
| 19. Ipswich. | +ILFINE ON GPIV | " | |
- From same obverse die.
- | | | | | |
|----------------|--------------------|------------------|---------------------|---|
| 20. London (?) | ONIVND ON LVND (?) | (blundered) | Brit. Mus. | } |
| 21. Thetford. | EINRIE ON D+IEOTNF | (= Pl. XVII. 8). | Mr. Carlyon-Britton | |
- From same obverse die.

PLATE XVII.

1. Thetford. EINRIE ON D+IEOTNF Brit. Mus. }
2. Uncertain mint. +BRHTPI ON MAINT " }
From same obverse die.
3. London. +SIBODE ON LVNDEN British Museum }
4. " " " Mr. Carlyon-Britton }
5. Exeter. +ÆLFINE ON EXEI British Museum }
6. " " " Mr. Carlyon-Britton }
From same obverse die.
7. Thetford. EINRIE ON +IEOTNF British Museum.
8. " EINRIE ON D+IEOTNF (= Pl. XVI. 21).
Mr. Carlyon-Britton.
9. Warwick. +IELFRIE ON ÆERPIE British Museum }
10. " +LIFRIE ON ÆERPIE " }
From same reverse die (altered).
11. Maldon. +IELFORD ON MIEL British Museum.
Moneyer's name altered from IELFNE (?).
12. London. +ELFSI ON LVNDE altered to ELPI ON
EXEESDE. Mr. Carlyon-Britton.
13. " +ÆLFS ON LVNDENI altered to IDEFI
ON EA — ENI. British Museum.
14. " +ÆOLFSI ON LVNDEN From same obverse
die as preceding. Messrs. Rollin and Feu-
ardent.
15. " +ÆLFSI ON LVNDENEN Inscription
partly defaced. Mr. Carlyon-Britton.

G. C. B.

XIII.

A FIND OF NOBLES OF EDWARD III AT EAST RAYNHAM, NORFOLK.

(See Plates XVIII.-XXI.)

AN important find was made in December, 1910, at East Raynham, consisting of 200 nobles of the fourth coinage (1351-1377) of Edward III; they are mostly in very fine condition, and the majority weigh between $118\frac{1}{2}$ and $119\frac{1}{2}$ grains. Of these coins 165 were struck at the London Mint, and belong to the following issues:—

A. 1351-1360. (With French title, but without Aquitaine)	67
Mules of 1351-1360 and 1360-1369	2
B. 1360-1369. (Without French title, but with Aquitaine)	88
Mules of 1360-1369 and 1369-1377	2
C. 1369-1377. (With both French and Aquitaine titles)	6

The remaining 35 were struck at Calais, and are attributed as follows:—

1363-1369	23
Mules of 1363-1369 and 1369-1377	7
1369-1377	5

Owing to the rare occurrence of so large a hoard of nobles it has been thought desirable to note all the

varieties which occur, and also to discover how much, if any, evidence may be obtained from a comparison of the dies from which these coins are struck. The 200 coins are struck from 119 obverse and 179 reverse dies; duplicates are few, only 9 sets of two coins and 3 sets of three coins being struck from the same pairs of dies. This shows a large number of obverse dies used in conjunction with two or more reverse dies, by means of which connecting links are formed, giving clear evidence of the sequence of the subdivisions into which the main issues (1351-1360, 1360-1369, 1369-1377) are here divided. These and many other details are noted in the following list, and in it are included several coins belonging to the British Museum which are considered to add something to the evidence obtained from the coins in the find. Such coins are, for the sake of clear distinction, not numbered but labelled with a letter within square brackets (*[a]*, *[b]*, &c.). The term "Mule" is used to denote coins struck from an obverse and reverse die belonging to two different issues (see *[a]*, 68, 69, 158, 159, *[ee]*, *[ff]*), which therefore connect two of the main issues, and the term "Sub-mule" is invented to denote coins which connect in a similar way the subdivisions (*e.g.* Nos. 22-36). At the end of the list is given an analysis of the classification and notes upon the varieties of type and inscription, showing the periods at which changes are made. The ropes of the ship are numbered from stern to prow, that is, "Ropes—3 and 2" means "3 ropes from stern, 2 from prow."

LIST OF COINS.

MULE CONNECTING ISSUE OF 1346-1351 AND ISSUE OF
1351-1360.

- [a] *Obv.*—ED/WARD' DEI GRÆ REX ANGL' Ɔ
Ɔ FRÆNC' D hYB' On ship—lis, lion,
2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion, lis. Ropes—3 and 3.
Type of 1351-1360, subdivision (1).
Rev.—+IhC' TRÆNSIENS' PÆR' MÆDIVM'
ILLORVM' IBAT' Ɔ in centre; lis over
lion's head in 1st quarter. Type of 1346-
1351. [Pl. XVIII. 1.]

A. ISSUE OF 1351-1360.

(1) *Coins with Ɔ in centre of reverse.*

- [b] *Obv.*—Same die as preceding.
Rev.—+IhE' AVTEM' TRÆNCIENS' PÆR'
MÆDIVM' ILLORV' IBAT' Lis in 2nd
quarter.
- [c] *Obv.*—ED/WAD' DEI GRÆ REX ANGL' Ɔ
FRÆNC' D hYB' On ship—lis, lion,
2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis. Ropes—3 and 3.
Rev.—+IhES' AVTEM' TRÆNCIENS' PÆR'
MÆDIV' ILLORV' IBAT' Lis in 2nd
quarter.
- [d] *Obv.*—Same die as preceding.
Rev.—+IhES' AVTEM' TRÆNCIENS' PÆR'
MÆDIV' ILLORVM' IBAT' Lis in 2nd
quarter.
- [e] *Obv.*—ED/WARD' DEI GRÆ REX ANGL' Ɔ
Ɔ FRÆNC' D hYB' On ship—2 lis,
lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion, lis. Ropes—
3 and 3.
Rev.—+IhESV' AVTEM' TRÆNCIENS' PÆR'
MÆDIV' ILLORV' IBAT' Lis
in 2nd quarter. [Pl. XVIII. 2.]

SUB-MULE CONNECTING A (1) AND A (2).

1. *Obv.*—Α/DWARD · ΔΑΙ · 6ΡΑ · ΡΑΧ · ΑΝ6Λ ·
 7 · ΦΡΑΝΩ' · Δ · ΗΥΒ' On ship—lis,
 lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion, lis. Ropes—
 3 and 3.

Rev.—+ΙΗΩ · ΑΥΤΘΩ · ΤΡΑΝΩΙΩΣ · Ρ ·
 ΩΑΔΙΩ · ΙΛΛΟΡΩ · ΙΒΑ Lis in 2nd
 quarter. Ε in centre.

(2) *Coins with Α in centre of reverse. Annulets as stops.*

To facilitate description the general type of the obverse and reverse of these coins, varieties of which will be described in the list, is assumed to be as follows:—

Obv.—Α/DWARD · ΔΑΙ · 6ΡΑ · ΡΑΧ · ΑΙΙ6Λ' ·
 7 · ΦΡΑΙΩ · Δ · ΗΥΒ' On ship—lis,
 lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion, lis. Ropes—
 3 and 3.

Rev.—+ΙΗΩ · ΑΥΤΘΩ · ΤΡΑΙΙΩΙΩΣ · Ρ ·
 ΩΑΔΙΩ · ΙΛΛΟΡΩ · ΙΒΑΤ Lis above
 lion's head in 2nd quarter. Small Α in
 centre.

- [f] *Obv.*—Same die as preceding (No. 1). Α and Ζ
 for Π and ΙΙ.

Rev.—Ρ for Ρ. Lis in 3rd quarter.

2. *Obv.*—Α and Ζ for Π and ΙΙ.

Rev.—Α and Ζ for Π and ΙΙ. Ρ for Ρ. Large Α
 in centre.

3. *Obv.*—Same die as preceding.

Rev.—Α and Ζ for Π and ΙΙ. Ρ for Ρ. ΙΛΛΟΡΩ
 for ΙΛΛΟΡΩ. Large Α in centre.

- [g] *Obv.*—Same die as preceding.

Rev.—Α and Ζ for Π and ΙΙ. Ρ for Ρ. ΙΗΑ for
 ΙΗΩ. ΙΛΛΟΡΩ · ΙΒΑ · Large Α in
 centre.

- [h] *Obv.*—Same die as preceding.
Rev.—IB π for IB π T. Lis in 1st quarter.
4. *Obv.*—Same die as preceding.
Rev.—LLORV Ω for ILLORV Ω . Lis in 4th quarter.
5. *Obv.*— \bar{A} and \bar{V} for π and II. hY for hYB .
Rev.— \bar{A} and \bar{V} for π and II, except in IB π T. P for P . Large $\&$ in centre.
6. *Obv.*— \bar{A} and \bar{V} for π and II. On ship—2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis.
Rev.—Lis in 3rd quarter.
- [i] *Obv.*—D h IB for D ° hYB . On ship—2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis.
Rev.—Lis in 3rd quarter.
- [k] *Obv.*—On ship—2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis.
Rev.—Lis in 1st quarter.
- [l] *Obv.*— hIB for hYB . On ship—2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion, lis.
Rev.— $\pi VTQ\Omega$ for $\pi VT\&\Omega$.
7. *Obv.*—Same die as preceding.
Rev.— $\Omega\&DIV\Omega$ for $\Omega\&DIV\Omega$. Annulet after IB π T. Lis in 1st quarter.
8. *Obv.*—Annulet omitted between D and hYB . On ship—lis, lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion.
Rev.—No varieties.
9. *Obv.*—Same die as preceding.
Rev.—Annulet omitted between ILLORV Ω and IB π T.
- [m] *Obv.*—D h I for D ° hYB . On ship—lis, lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis.
Rev.—Lis in 3rd quarter.

10. *Obv.*—Same die as preceding.
Rev.—No varieties.
11. *Obv.*—Annulet at beginning of legend. η IB for η YB. On ship—2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion.
Rev.—Annulet after IBAT. Lis in 1st quarter.
12. *Obv.*—Same die as preceding.
Rev.—No lis above lion's head.
13. *Obv.*—On ship—lis, lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion.
Rev.—No varieties.
14. *Obv.*—D η Y = B. On ship—2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion, lis.
Rev.—No varieties.
15. *Obv.*—D η Y = B. On ship—lis, lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion.
Rev.—Annulet after IBAT. [Pl. XVIII. 3.]
16. *Obv.*—A/DWARD for A/DWARD. FRATID for FRATID. On ship—2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion, lis.
Rev.—No varieties.
- 17.¹ *Obv.*—A/DWARD for A/DWARD. REX omitted. D = η Y = B = A. On ship—lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion. Ropes—3 and 1.
Rev.—Large A in centre.
- 18, 19.² *Obv.*—Annulet at beginning of legend. D η Y = B. On ship—lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion. Ropes—3 and 1.
Rev.—Annulet omitted between ILLORVR and IBAT.
 (Same dies.)

¹ See also No. 22.² See also No. 23.

20.³ *Obv.*—On ship—lion, lis, lion, lis, lion. Ropes—
2 and 3.

Rev.—No varieties.

[n]³ *Obv.*—Same die as preceding.

Rev.—TRΠΙΙΙΘΙΙΙ * S Annulet omitted between
ILLORVΩ and IBΠT.

[o] *Obv.*—Annulet at beginning of legend. Annulet
omitted between RΘX and ΠΙΙΙΛ. On
ship—lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion. Ropes—
3 and 1.

Rev.—Coronet mint-mark. Annulet omitted be-
tween ILLORVΩ and IBΠT. Large Θ in
centre.

21.⁴ *Obv.*—α/DWARD for Θ/DWARD. On ship—
lion, lis, lion, lis, lion. Ropes—2 and 1.

Rev.—Coronet mint-mark. Annulet omitted be-
tween ILLORVΩ and IBΠT and inserted
after IBΠT. Large Θ in centre.

[Pl. XVIII. 4.]

SUB-MULES CONNECTING A (2) AND A (3).

(a) *With obverse of Annulet coinage, A (2), and reverse of
Saltire coinage, A (3).*

22. *Obv.*—Same die as No. 17.

Rev.—Saltires in place of annulets. No other
varieties.

23. *Obv.*—Same die as Nos. 18, 19.

Rev.—Saltires in place of annulets. Double saltire
after TRΠΙΙΙΘΙΙΙS. Annulet at end of
upper limb of cross.

* See also Nos. [p] and 24-27.

* See also No. 28.

- [p] *Obv.*—Same die as Nos. 20, [a].
Rev.—Saltires in place of annulets. Saltire after IBAT.
24. *Obv.*—Same die as preceding.
Rev.—Saltires in place of annulets. Saltire omitted between ILLORVΩ and IBAT.
- 25, 26, 27. *Obv.*—Same die as preceding.
Rev.—Saltires in place of annulets. Double saltire after TRATIIQIΩIIS. Iηθ for IηQ. Two annulets at end of upper limb of cross.
 (Same dies.)
28. *Obv.*—Same die as No. 21.
Rev.—Saltires in place of annulets. Saltires omitted between last three words.
29. *Obv.*—Annulet at beginning of legend. DηY * B.
 On ship—lion, lis, lion, lis, lion. Ropes—2 and 1.
Rev.—Saltires in place of annulets. ILLOVΩ for ILLORVΩ.
30. *Obv.*—No varieties.
Rev.—Saltires in place of annulets. TRATIIQIΩIIC for TRATIIQIΩIIS.
- 31, 32. *Obv.*—On ship—2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion, lis.
Rev.—Saltires in place of annulets. Double saltire after TRATIIQIΩIIS. Annulet at end of upper limb of cross.
 (Same dies.)
- (b) *With obverse of Saltire coinage, A (3), and reverse of Annulet coinage, A (2).*
33. *Obv.*—/EDWAPRD * DEI * GBA * REX * ATIEI *
 T * FRATIIQ * DηYB. On ship—lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion. Ropes—3 and 3.
Rev.—Large θ in centre.

34. *Obv.*— $\times \text{E} / \text{DW} \text{A} \text{R} \text{D} \times \text{D} \text{E} \text{I} \times \text{G} \text{R} \text{A} \times \text{R} \text{E} \text{X} \times \text{A} \text{I} \text{I} \text{E} \text{L} \times$
 $\text{I} \times \text{F} \text{R} \text{A} \text{I} \text{I} \text{Q} \times \text{D} \text{H} \text{Y} \text{B}$ Ornaments and
ropes as preceding.

Rev.—No varieties.

35. *Obv.*—Similar to preceding, one saltire after $\text{G} \text{R} \text{A}$.

Rev.—Coronet mint-mark. $\text{I} \text{L} \text{O} \text{R} \text{V} \text{O} \text{I} \text{B} \text{A} \text{T}$ =
Large E in centre.

36. *Obv.*—Similar to preceding. $\text{D} \text{H} \text{Y} \times \text{B}$. On ship
—lion, lis, lion, lis, lion. Ropes—3 and 1.

Rev.—Coronet mint-mark. Annulet after $\text{I} \text{B} \text{A} \text{T}$.
Large E in centre.

(3) *Coins with E in centre of reverse. Saltires as stops.*

The general type for the following coins, varieties of
which are described, is assumed to be:—

Obv.— $\text{E} / \text{DW} \text{A} \text{R} \text{D} \times \text{D} \text{E} \text{I} \times \text{G} \text{R} \text{A} \times \text{R} \text{E} \text{X} \times \text{A} \text{I} \text{I} \text{E} \text{L} \times$
 $\text{I} \times \text{F} \text{R} \text{A} \text{I} \text{I} \text{Q} \times \text{D} \text{H} \text{Y} \text{B}$ On ship—lis, lion,
lis, lion, lis, lion, lis. Ropes—3 and 1.

Rev.— $+\text{I} \text{H} \text{E} \times \text{A} \text{V} \text{T} \text{O} \text{R} \times \text{T} \text{R} \text{A} \text{I} \text{I} \text{Q} \text{I} \text{E} \text{I} \text{I} \text{S} \times \text{P} \times$
 $\text{M} \text{E} \text{D} \text{I} \text{V} \text{O} \times \text{I} \text{L} \text{L} \text{O} \text{R} \text{V} \text{O} \times \text{I} \text{B} \text{A} \text{T}$ Lis
above lion's head in 2nd quarter.

- [g] *Obv.*—Saltire at beginning of legend. On ship—
lion, lis, lion, lis, lion.

Rev.— $\text{I} \text{H} \text{Q}$ for $\text{I} \text{H} \text{E}$. $\text{A} \text{V} \text{A} \text{M}$ for $\text{A} \text{V} \text{T} \text{O} \text{R}$. Single
saltire after $\text{T} \text{R} \text{A} \text{I} \text{I} \text{Q} \text{I} \text{E} \text{I} \text{I} \text{S}$. Annulet at
end of upper limb of cross.

- [r] *Obv.*—Same die as preceding.

Rev.—Two crescents at end of upper limb of cross.

- 37.⁵ *Obv.*—Same die as preceding.

Rev.—Two annulets at end of upper limb of cross.

⁵ See also No. [s].

- 38.^o *Obv.*—No varieties.
Rev.—Same die as preceding.
39. *Obv.*—Same die as preceding.
Rev.—Two annulets at end of upper limb of cross.
40. *Obv.*—Same die as preceding.
Rev.—Two pellets at end of upper limb of cross.
 Large ϵ in centre.
- 41–44. *Obv.*—Same die as preceding.
Rev.—YBTT for IBTT. Two pellets at end of upper limb of cross. Large ϵ in centre.
 (Three duplicates and one from different reverse die.)
- [*s*] *Obv.*—FRTTIIQ for FRKIIQ. On ship—lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion. Ropes—3 and 3.
Rev.—Same die as Nos. 37, 38.
45. *Obv.*—Same die as preceding.
Rev.—IhQ for IhQ. Single saltire after TRKIIQIIIS.
46. *Obv.*—Same die as preceding.
Rev.—Two pellets at end of upper limb of cross.
 Large ϵ in centre.
47. *Obv.*—Annulet at beginning of legend.
Rev.—IhQ for IhQ. Annulet at end of upper limb of cross.
48. *Obv.*—Saltire at beginning of legend.
Rev.—IhQ for IhQ. Annulet at end of upper limb of cross.
49. *Obv.*—Saltires omitted after KIIQL and FRTIIQ. On ship—lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion.
Rev.—IhQ for IhQ. Annulet at end of upper limb of cross.

* See also No. [2].

50. *Obv.*— $\pi\iota\iota\epsilon\lambda\iota$ for $\pi\iota\iota\epsilon\lambda$. On ship—lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion. Ropes—3 and 2.

Rev.— $\text{Ih}\epsilon$ for $\text{Ih}\epsilon$. Annulet at end of upper limb of cross.

- [f] *Obv.*—Saltire at beginning of legend. Saltire omitted after $\text{FR}\pi\iota\iota\epsilon$; D B for DhYB . On ship—lion, lis, lion, lis, lion. Ropes—2 and 1.

Rev.— $\text{Ih}\epsilon$ for $\text{Ih}\epsilon$. Two annulets at end of upper limb of cross.

51. *Obv.*—No varieties.

Rev.—Two annulets at end of upper limb of cross.

52. *Obv.*—No varieties.

Rev.— $\text{TR}\pi\iota\iota\epsilon\lambda\iota\epsilon\lambda\iota\epsilon$ for $\text{TR}\pi\iota\iota\epsilon\lambda\iota\epsilon\lambda\iota\epsilon$. Two annulets at end of upper limb of cross.

53. *Obv.*—Double saltire at beginning of legend.

Rev.—Two annulets at end of upper limb of cross.

54. *Obv.*—Ropes—3 and 2.

Rev.—Two annulets at end of upper limb of cross.

- [e] *Obv.*—Same die as preceding.

Rev.— $\text{Ih}\epsilon$ for $\text{Ih}\epsilon$. Large ϵ reversed (B) in centre. Two pellets at end of upper limb of cross.

- 55, 56. *Obv.*—Same die as preceding.

Rev.— $\text{YB}\pi\iota$ for $\text{IB}\pi\iota$. Two pellets at end of upper limb of cross. Large ϵ in centre.
(Different reverse dies.)

57. *Obv.*—Saltire at beginning of legend. Ropes—3 and 2.

Rev.—Two annulets at end of upper limb of cross.

58. *Obv.*—Same die as preceding.

Rev.—Two pellets at end of upper limb of cross.
Large Θ in centre.

59. *Obv.*—Saltire before and double saltire after Θ of Θ /DW π RD.

Rev.—Two pellets at end of upper limb of cross.
Large Θ in centre. [Pl. XVIII. 5.]

60, 61. *Obv.*—No varieties.

Rev.—YB π T for IB π T. Two pellets at end of upper limb of cross. Large Θ in centre.
(Different reverse dies.)

[w] *Obv.*— τ for τ . D' B for DhYB.

Rev.—Two pellets (?) at end of upper limb of cross
Large Θ in centre.

62. *Obv.*— Θ /DW π D for Θ /DW π RD. τ for τ .

Rev.—Double saltire after π VT Θ Ω , TR π II Θ IIIS,
 Ω Θ DIY Ω , and IB π T. Two pellets (?)
at end of upper limb of cross. Large Θ
in centre.

63. *Obv.*—Same die as preceding.

Rev.—Two pellets at end of upper limb of cross.
Large Θ in centre.

64. *Obv.*—Same die as preceding.

Rev.—Double saltires except after Ih Θ , P, and
IB π T. Two pellets over crown in 2nd
quarter. Large Θ in centre.

[x] *Obv.*— τ for τ .

Rev.—YB π T for IB π T. Two pellets at end of
upper limb of cross. Large Θ in centre.

65. *Obv.*— τ for τ . Ropes—3 and 2.

Rev.—Ih Θ for Ih Θ . Two annulets at end of upper
limb of cross. No lis in either quarter.

66. *Obv.*—Same die as preceding.
Rev.—Two annulets at end of upper limb of cross.
67. *Obv.*—Same die as preceding.
Rev.—YBTT for IBTT. Two pellets at end of upper limb of cross. Large Θ in centre.

MULES CONNECTING ISSUE OF 1351-1360 AND ISSUE OF 1360-1369.

(a) *With obverse of 1351-1360 and reverse of 1360-1369.*

68. *Obv.*—Same die as preceding (Nos. 65-67).
Rev.—+IhA' \times AVT Θ ' \times TRPNSI Θ VS \times P' \times Ω ADIV Ω \times ILLORR' \times IBTT Lis in 2nd quarter. Annulets instead of trefoils at angles of central compartment. Large Θ in centre.

(b) *With obverse of 1360-1369 and reverse of 1351-1360.*

69. *Obv.*— Θ /DWTRD \times DEI \times GRP \times RAX \times Π IGLI Θ \times T \times P Θ VT Π \times DIIS[h] On ship—lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion. Ropes—3 and 2.
Rev.—+IhA' \times AVT Θ Ω \times TRPII Θ I Θ IS \times P \times Ω ADIV Ω \times ILLORV Ω \times IBTT Lis in 2nd quarter. Two pellets at end of upper limb of cross. Large Θ in centre.
 [Pl. XVIII. 6.]

B. ISSUE OF 1360-1369. LARGE Θ IN CENTRE.

(1) *Transitional varieties of type and inscription.*

- [y] *Obv.*— Θ /DWTRDV Σ \times DEI \times GRP \times RAX \times Π IGLI Θ \times T \times P Θ VT Π \times D \times Θ ' On ship—lis, lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion, lis. Ropes—3 and 3.
Rev.—+IhA' \times AVT Θ Ω \times TRPNSI Θ VS \times P' \times Ω ADIV Ω \times ILLORR' \times IBTT Lis in 2nd quarter. Annulets at angles of central compartment.

[z] *Obv.*—Α/DWΠRDVS × DΘI × ΓΡΑ × ΡΑΧ ×
 ΠΝΓΙ' × DΘNS' × ΗΥΒ' On ship—lis,
 lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion, lis. Ropes—
 3 and 2.

Rev.—+ΙηΑ × ΠVTΘM × TPΠNΘIΘNS × P' ×
 MΘDIVM × ILLORR' × IBΠT Lis in
 2nd quarter. Annulets at angles of central
 compartment.

[aa] *Obv.*—Same die as preceding.

Rev.—+ΙηΑ' × ΠVTΘM × TPΠNSIΘNS × PΘR ×
 MΘI' × ILLORR' × IBΠT Lis in 2nd
 quarter. Annulets at angles of central
 compartment.

70. *Obv.*—Same die as preceding.

Rev.—+ΙηΑ' × ΠVTΘM × PΘR × MΘDIVM ×
 ILLORVM × IBΠT × Lis in 2nd quarter.
 Annulets at angles of central compartment.
 [Pl. XVIII. 7.]

[bb] *Obv.*—Same die as preceding.

Rev.—+ΙηΑ' × ΠVTΘM × PΘR × MΘDIVM ×
 ILLORVM × IBΠT Lis in 2nd quarter.
 Annulets at angles of central compartment.

[cc] *Obv.*—Α/DWΠRD' × DΘI × ΓΡΑ × ΡΑΧ × ΠΝΓΙ' ×
 DNS' × ΗΙΒN' × Ξ × ΠΑΘ On ship—lis,
 lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion, lis. Ropes—
 3 and 3.

Rev.—+ΙηΑ' × ΠVTΘ' × TPΠNSIΘNS × PΘR ×
 MΘDIVM × ILLORR' × IBΠT Lis in
 2nd quarter. Annulets at angles of central
 compartment.

71. *Obv.*—Same die as preceding.

Rev.—+ΙηΑ × ΠVTΘM × TPΠNΘIΘNS × P' ×
 MΘDIVM × ILLORR' × IBΠT Lis in
 2nd quarter. Annulets at angles of central
 compartment.

[*dd*] *Obv.*—Same die as preceding. The R of $\eta\text{IB}\eta'$ × has been erased so that it now reads $\eta\text{IB}' \times \times$

Rev.— $+ \text{IH}\bar{\alpha} \times \pi\text{VT}\theta\text{M} \times \text{TR}\pi\text{NSI}\theta\text{NS} \times \text{P}^{\beta} \times \text{M}\theta\text{DIV}\text{M} \times \text{ILLORR}' \times \text{IB}\pi\text{T}'$ Lis in 2nd quarter. Large pellets at angles of central compartment.

72. *Obv.*— $\alpha/\text{DW}\bar{\alpha}\text{RD}' \times \text{D}\theta\text{I} \times \text{GR}\pi \times \text{R}\theta\text{X} \times \pi\text{NGL}' \times \text{DNS}' \times \eta\text{IB}' \times \text{T} \times \pi\alpha\theta' \times$ On ship—lis, lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion, lis. Ropes—3 and 3.

Rev.—Similar to preceding.

73. *Obv.*—Same die as preceding.

Rev.—Similar to preceding. Double saltire after $\text{IB}\pi\text{T}$.

(2) No lis over head of lion in either quarter of reverse. Trefoils at angles of central compartment on reverse. π unbarred in πQT and $\text{IB}\pi\text{T}$. Saltire at beginning of obverse legend.

74, 75. *Obv.*— $\times \alpha\text{D}/\text{W}\bar{\alpha}\text{RD} \times \text{D}\theta\text{I} \times \text{GR}\pi \times \text{R}\theta\text{X} \times \pi\text{NGL} \times \text{DNS} \times \eta\text{IB} \times \text{N} \times \pi\text{QT}$ On ship—2 lis, lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis. Ropes—3 and 2.

Rev.— $+ \text{IH}\bar{\alpha} \times \pi\text{VT}\theta\text{M} \times \text{TR}\pi\text{NSI}\theta\text{NS} \times \text{P}\theta\text{R} \times \text{M}\theta\text{DIV} \times \text{ILLORV}\text{M} \times \text{IB}\pi\text{T}$ No lis in either quarter.

(Different dies.)

76. *Obv.*—No varieties.

Rev.— $\text{M}\theta\text{DIV}\text{M} \times \text{ILLORV} \times$ for $\text{M}\theta\text{DIV} \times \text{ILLORV}\text{M} \times$

77. *Obv.*—No varieties.

Rev.— $\text{M}\theta\text{DIV}$ for $\text{M}\theta\text{DIV}$.

78. *Obv.*—No varieties.

Rev.— $\text{M}\theta\text{DIV}$ for $\text{M}\theta\text{DIV}$. [Pl. XIX. 8.]

79. *Obv.*—Same die as preceding.
Rev.—Saltires omitted between ILLORVM and IBAT, MÆDIV for MÆDIV.
80. *Obv.*—Legend as preceding. On ship—lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis.
Rev.—Same die as preceding.
81. *Obv.*—Same die as preceding.
Rev.—MÆDIV for MÆDIV.
- 82-94. *Obv.*— \times ED/WARD \times DEI \times GRA \times REX \times ANGL \times
 DRS \times hYB \times N \times AQT On ship—lion,
 2 lis, lion, 2 lis. Ropes—3 and 2.
Rev.— \times Ih'u \times AVTOM \times TRANSIENS \times PER \times
 MÆDIV \times ILLORVM \times IBAT
 (These 13 coins are struck from 10 obverse and 13 reverse dies.)
95. *Obv.*—Same die as one of the preceding coins (82-94).
Rev.—Saltires omitted between PER and MÆDIV.

SUB-MULES CONNECTING B (2) AND B (3).

With obverse of B (3) and reverse of B (2).

- 96.⁷ *Obv.*—Annulet instead of saltire at beginning of legend. A barred in GRA and AQT.
Rev.—No varieties.
- 97.⁸ *Obv.*—Annulet instead of saltire at beginning of legend. A barred in AQT. Ropes—3 and 1.
Rev.—ILLORV for ILLORVM. A prone (𐌶) in centre.

⁷ See No. 99.

⁸ See Nos. 100, 101.

98.⁹ *Obv.*—Annulet instead of saltire at beginning of legend. A barred in AQT. Saltires omitted between hYB, N and AQT. Ropes—3 and 1.

Rev.—No stops in legend. MÆDIVM ILLORV for MÆDIV ILLORVM. A supine (⊕) in centre.

(3) A barred in IBAT, barred or unbarred in GRΠ and ΠQT.
Annulet at beginning of obverse legend.

99. *Obv.*—Same die as No. 96.

Rev.—+ Ih'α × ΠVTαM × TRΠNSIαNS × PÆR ×
MÆDIV × ILLORVM × IBAT

100, 101. *Obv.*—Same die as No. 97.

Rev.—No varieties.

(Different reverse dies.)

102. *Obv.*—Same die as No. 98.

Rev.—No varieties.

103–118. *Obv.*—αD/WΠRD × DÆI × GRΠ × RÆX ×
ΠN6L × DNS × hYB × N × ΠQT On ship
—lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis. Ropes—3 and 2.

Rev.—+ Ih'α × ΠVTαM × TRΠNSIαNS × PÆR ×
MÆDIV × ILLORVM × IBAT

(These 16 coins are struck from 7 obverse and 13 reverse dies.)

119–150. *Obv.*—AQT for ΠQT; some have GRΠ, others GRA.

Rev.—No varieties.

[Pl. XIX. 9.]

(These 32 coins are struck from 18 obverse and 29 reverse dies. One of these reverse dies was used to strike one of the coins with ΠQT (Nos. 103–118), another to strike No. 154.)

⁹ See No. 102.

151. *Obv.*—From same die as two of preceding coins (Nos. 149, 150).
Rev.—Trefoils omitted in two spandrils of reverse.
152. *Obv.*—ΑQT for ΠQT. Ropes—3 and 1.
Rev.—No varieties.
153. *Obv.*—ΑQT for ΠQT. ΓΡΑ for ΓΡΠ. Saltires omitted between ΔΗΙ and ΓΡΠ.
Rev.—No varieties.
154. *Obv.*—Same die as preceding.
Rev.—No varieties (same die as No. 125).
- 155, 156.¹⁰ *Obv.*—ΑQT for ΠQT. Crescent in forecastle of ship.
Rev.—No varieties. [Pl. XIX. 10.]
 (Same obverse die.)
- 157.¹¹ *Obv.*—ΑQT for ΠQT. ΓΡΑ for ΓΡΠ. Crescent in forecastle of ship.
Rev.—No varieties.

MULES CONNECTING ISSUE OF 1360-1369 AND ISSUE OF 1369-1377, OVERSE OF 1369-1377 AND REVERSE OF 1360-1369.

158. *Obv.*—• ΕΔ/ΩΑΡΔ × ΔΗΙ × 6 × ΡΑΧ × ΑΠΓ ×
 Σ × ΦΡΠ × ΔΡΣ × ΗΥΒ × Σ × ΠQT On
 ship—lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis. Ropes—3 and 2.
Rev.—Same die as coin of previous issue (No. 156).
 [Pl. XIX. 11.]
- [ee] *Obv.*—ΠT for ΠQT.
Rev.—Same die as coin of previous issue (No. 157).

¹⁰ See also No. 158.

¹¹ See also [ee].

159. *Obv.*— $\text{GR}\pi$ for G . πRGL for πRG . Ropes—2 and 2.
Rev.— ILLORV for $\text{ILLORV}\Omega$. H reversed (Θ) in centre.

[*ff*] *Obv.*— $\text{EDW}/\pi\text{RD}' \times \text{DI} \times \text{GR}\pi \times \text{R}\lambda\text{X} \times \pi\text{RGL} \times$
 $\text{H} \times \text{FR}\pi\text{RQ}' \times \text{D}\Omega\text{S} \times \text{hIB}' \times \text{H} \times \pi\text{Q}'$
 Ship of new type having prow and stern embattled. On ship—lis, lion, lis, lion, lis, lion, lis. Ropes—3 and 1.

Rev.—Same die as preceding.

C. ISSUE OF 1369–1377.

160. *Obv.*—Same die as preceding [*ff*].

Rev.— $+\text{IHQ} \times \pi\text{VT}\Omega\text{R} \times \text{TR}\pi\text{RSI}\Omega\text{S} \times \text{P}\lambda\text{R} \times$
 $\Omega\text{EDIV}\Omega \times \text{ILLORV}\Omega \times \text{IB}\pi\text{T} \times$ Pellet in front of H in centre.

- 161, 162. *Obv.*—Similar. Single saltire throughout.

Rev.—Similar, saltires omitted after $\text{IB}\pi\text{T}$.
 (Different dies.)

- [*gg*] *Obv.*— $\pi\text{QVT}'$ for $\pi\text{Q}'$.

Rev.— ILLORV for $\text{ILLORV}\Omega$. Saltires omitted after $\text{IB}\pi\text{T}$.

163. *Obv.*— πQVIT for $\pi\text{Q}'$. Single saltire throughout.

Rev.— $\text{TR}\pi\text{RSI}\Omega\text{S}$ for $\text{TR}\pi\text{RSI}\Omega\text{RS}$.

- 164, 165. *Obv.*— πQVIT for $\pi\text{Q}'$. Single saltire throughout.

Rev.—Saltires omitted after $\text{IB}\pi\text{T}$.

[*Cf.* Pl. XIX. 12.]

(Different dies.)

[*hh*] *Obv.*— $\text{EDW}/\pi\text{RDVS} \times \text{DI} \times \text{GR}\pi \times \text{R}\lambda\text{X} \times$
 $\pi\text{RGL} \times \text{H} \times \text{FR}\pi\text{RQ}' \times \text{D}\Omega\text{S} \times \text{hIB}' \times \text{H} \times$
 $\pi\text{Q}'\text{T}$ Ship and ornaments as before.

Rev.—No varieties.

COINS ATTRIBUTED TO THE CALAIS MINT.

ISSUE OF 1363-1369.

(a) *No flag at stern of ship.*

166-171. *Obv.*— \times ϵ D/W π RD \times D ϵ I \times 6P π \times R ϵ X \times
 π N6L \times D π S \times hYB \times N \times π QT' On
 ship—lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis. Ropes—3 and 2.

Rev.— $+$ Ih' α \times π VT ϵ ω \times TR π NSI ϵ NS \times P ϵ R \times
 ω ϵ DIV \times ILLORVM \times IB π T' α in
 centre. [Cf. Pl. XX. 24.]

(These 6 coins are struck from 2 obverse
 and 5 reverse dies.)

172, 173. *Obv.*—Saltire omitted at beginning of legend.

Rev.—No varieties.

(From different obverse and same reverse
 dies.)

174. *Obv.*— ϵ D ϵ /W π RD \times D ϵ I \times 6P π \times R ϵ X \times
 π N6L \times D π S \times hYB \times N \times π QT' Orna-
 ments as preceding.

Rev.— $+$ Ih' α \times π VT ϵ ω \times TR π NSI ϵ NS \times P ϵ R \times
 ω ϵ DIV ω \times ILLORV' \times IB π T' \times α in
 centre. [Pl. XX. 25.]

(b) *Flag at stern of ship.*

175, 176. *Obv.*— ϵ D/W π RD \times D ϵ I \times 6P π \times R ϵ X \times π N6L \times
 D π S \times hYB \times N \times π QT' On ship—lion,
 2 lis, lion, 2 lis. Flag at stern. Ropes—
 3 and 2.

Rev.—Ih' α \times π VT ϵ ω \times TR π NSI ϵ NS \times P ϵ R \times
 ω ϵ DIV \times ILLORVM \times IB π T' \times α in
 centre.

(From same obverse and different reverse
 dies.)

177-182. *Obv.*—Saltire omitted at beginning of legend.

Rev.—No varieties. [Pl. XX. 26.]

(These 6 coins are struck from 5 obverse and 6 reverse dies.)

183-188. *Obv.*—Voided quatrefoil (⊕) at beginning of legend. Saltires instead of trefoils between hYB, N and πQT'

Rev.—No varieties. [Pl. XX. 27.]

(These 6 coins are struck from 4 obverse and 6 reverse dies. One coin reads πNL for πNL, on another the saltires are omitted between PÆR and MÆDIV.)

MULES CONNECTING ISSUE OF 1360-1369 AND ISSUE OF 1369-1377.

(a) *No flag at stern of ship.*

189, 190. *Obv.*—⊕ ED/WARD × DÆI × 6 × RÆX × πNL × N × FRπ × DNS × hYB × N × AQT' On ship—lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis. Ropes—3 and 2.

Rev.—+ Ih'α × πVTαM × TRπNSIαNS × PÆR × MÆDIV × ILLORVM × IBAT' α reversed (D) in centre. [Pl. XXI. 28.]

(Same dies.)

191. *Obv.*—Same die as preceding.

Rev.—Saltires omitted between TRπNSIαNS and PÆR. α in centre.

(b) *Flag at stern of ship.*

192-194. *Obv.*—⊕ EDW/πRD' × DI × 6Rπ × RÆX × πNL' × α × FRπND' × DNS × hIB' × α × πQVIT × New type of ship with prow and stern embattled. Flag at stern. On ship—lis, lion, lis, lion, lis, lion, lis. Ropes—3 and 1.

Rev.—+ Ih'α × πVTαM × TRπNSIαNS × PÆR × MÆDIV × ILLORVM × IBAT' α in centre. [Pl. XXI. 29.]

(From 2 obverse and 2 reverse dies.)

195. *Obv.*—Single saltire throughout. Saltire omitted after π QVIT.

Rev.—As preceding. No varieties.

ISSUE OF 1369–1377.

196–198. *Obv.*—Same die as preceding (No. 195).

Rev.—+ $I\eta' \alpha \times \pi V T \theta \Omega \times T R \pi \Omega S I \theta \Omega S \times P \theta R \times$
 $\Omega \theta D I V \Omega \times I L L \theta R V \Omega \times I B \pi T' \quad \alpha$ and
 pellet in centre. Two pellets beside lis at
 end of upper and lower limbs of cross.

(From same obverse and different reverse dies.)

199. *Obv.*—Similar to preceding.

Rev.—Double saltire after $I B \pi T$.

200. *Obv.*—Same die as preceding.

Rev.—Pellets omitted at end of lower limb of cross.
 [Pl. XXI. 30.]

The following summary shows the connexion between divisions and subdivisions by mules and sub-mules:—

MULE connecting third coinage (1346–1351) with fourth coinage A (1351–1360), subdivision (1) [Pl. XVIII. 1; XIX. 13].

This is noted as a transitional piece in *Num. Chron.*, 1898, p. 39, but the reverse has all the features of the earlier coinage, except that π is unbarred and lis is added over lion's head on reverse: the large round lettering with Lombardic Ω and θ , closed α and θ , all more ornamentally and tastefully done than in the later issue; "Autem" also has not yet come into the inscription; saltires are used as stops. The obverse die is used also with a true reverse of the fourth coinage A (1). In the half-noble series mules of this type are common, and also with obverse of A (2) and reverse of the third coinage [Pl. XIX. 13]; possibly reverse dies

were cut after the model of the third coinage for some time after the fourth coinage was issued.

A. 1351-1360.

- (1) Open \mathcal{C} in centre of reverse [Pl. XVIII. 2; XXI. 18].

The earliest coins have open \mathcal{C} and \mathcal{E} in obverse and reverse inscriptions, but on later coins, while \mathcal{E} is retained in the centre of the reverse and in the obverse legend, closed \mathcal{C} and \mathcal{E} appear in the reverse legend (see [d], [e]). On the quarter-nobles this is reversed, the open \mathcal{C} and \mathcal{E} being used in obverse and reverse inscriptions, and closed \mathcal{C} in the centre of the reverse [Pl. XX. 18]. The Roman \mathcal{M} and unbarred \mathcal{N} similarly give way to \mathcal{M} and \mathcal{N} . Barred \mathcal{N} is used throughout. The stops are always annulets.

SUB-MULE connecting subdivisions (1) and (2).

The reverse shows subdivision (1) in its furthest stage of development with the open \mathcal{C} in the centre as its only distinct feature. The abbreviation $\mathcal{I}h\mathcal{C}$ has already come in and \mathcal{P} in the place of $\mathcal{P}h\mathcal{R}$. The obverse die is seen on coin [f] with a reverse of subdivision (2) having closed \mathcal{C} in the centre of the reverse.

- (2) Closed \mathcal{C} in centre. Annulet stops [Pl. XVIII. 3; XX. 19].

Barred \mathcal{N} and \mathcal{Z} continue, but are probably soon changed to \mathcal{N} and \mathcal{Z} , as coin [f], whose obverse die forms the previous sub-mule, has these letters unbarred on the reverse. The form \mathcal{P} with abbreviation mark (for $\mathcal{P}h\mathcal{R}$) is also changed about the same time to a plain \mathcal{P} ; it occurs but once in conjunction with unbarred \mathcal{N} and \mathcal{I} (on coin [f] mentioned above). All dies which form sub-mules connecting this subdivision with the next have the forms \mathcal{N} , \mathcal{Z} , \mathcal{P} .

In the centre of the reverse a small \mathcal{C} is used except on a few early coins which have \mathcal{N} , \mathcal{Z} , and \mathcal{P} (Nos. 2, 3, [g], 5), and on some coins at the end of the issue which are connected by their obverse dies with the next issue (Nos. 17, [o], 21, 33, 35, 36); in the next issue (subdivision 3) the large \mathcal{C} seems to occur only, and always, on coins which have two pellets, or no

mark beside the lis at the end of the upper limb of the cross; on the later issues the large Θ is always used. The fleur-de-lys over the lion's head on the reverse occurs usually in the second quarter; that the varieties of its position do not occur in any chronological sequence is amply proved by the fact that it occurs in the second, first, and fourth quarters with the same obverse die (Nos. 2-4, [g], [h]), also with one obverse die it appears in second and third quarters (Nos. 1 and [f], 10 and [m]), in second and first quarters ([l] and 7), in first quarter and omitted (11 and 12). These varieties are likely to be accidental; as each quarter of the reverse is, but for this fleur-de-lys, precisely similar, the engraver might easily hold his die the wrong way up when he commences engraving the inscription. Throughout the saltire issue (A 3) and the transitional issue following (B 1), it occurs regularly in the second quarter with one exception (No. 65), where it is omitted. After the transitional period (B 1) the lis is always omitted.

The variety of rail ornament on the ship is not so great as would at first sight appear. On the earliest coins the theme is always two lis followed by one lion an indefinite number of times (usually three); the ornament begins sometimes with one lis and sometimes with two lis and sometimes with a lion, but the theme remains the same and stretches from end to end of the rail. A change seems to come at the end of this annulet series (A 2), when a theme is adopted in which one lis alternates with one lion, lis usually but not always commencing; this occurs also on many coins of the next issue (A 3), but the previous theme continues to be used at the same time (coin [s] has one style of ornament used with a reverse which occurs also with an obverse having the other style, Nos. 37, 38) and survives alone on the early coins of 1360-1369 (B 1). During the issue of B (2) it is modified to the stereotyped form "lion, 2 lis, lion, 2 lis," which does not stretch from end to end of the rail. This type is the

only one in use till 1369, when the alternation of a single lis and lion is again adopted.

The coronet mint-mark on the reverse is used for a short time at the end of this issue [Pl. XVIII. 4], the position of these coins being shown by its occurrence with a saltire obverse (Nos. 35, 36), and with an annulet obverse which is used also with a saltire reverse (see Nos. 21, 28).

On quarter-nobles of this issue a pellet takes the place of \mathfrak{H} in the centre of the reverse [Pl. XX. 19].

SUB-MULES connecting subdivisions (2) and (3).

Some of these have annulet obverses, and others saltire. Of the former some of the obverse dies are used also with true annulet reverses (see Nos. 22-28).

(3) Saltire stops [Pl. XVIII. 5; XIX. 14; XX. 20].

In this series occur the varieties of marks on the reverse placed beside the lis at the end of the upper limb of the cross. Some coins have no mark in this position, some have one annulet, some two annulets, and some two pellets. One coin ([*r*]) has two crescents, which are perhaps an error for annulets. These marks, like the lis over the lion's head, seem to occur contemporaneously and not in succession; on "sub-mules" with annulet obverse and saltire reverse three different varieties are found: no mark, one annulet, and two annulets. With the same obverse die are used one annulet and two annulets ([*q*] and 37), two annulets and two pellets (39 and 40), no mark, two annulets, and two pellets ([*s*], 45, and 46); though two pellets occur on mule 69, mule 68 is struck from the same obverse die as strikes coins 65 and 66, which have the two annulets. Some coins have Y instead of I in "Ibat"; these all have the two pellets, which is also the case with coins with a large \mathfrak{H} in the centre of the reverse. It seems probable that these small marks are the privy-marks of a mint official or die-engraver. Two pellets are again found, usually at both upper and lower ends of the cross, on coins of Calais of the last issue (Nos. 196-200); on one coin (No. 64) the pellets

are placed over the crown in the second quarter. On a few coins the abbreviation for "Et" between the English and French titles is slightly altered by the addition of a lower limb instead of a seriph (𐌹 for 𐌺) (see Nos. 62-67). These coins, some of which are struck from the same obverse die as mule No. 68, seem to belong to the end of this issue. The two forms, 𐌹𐌺 and 𐌹𐌺, are both used, and as both occur frequently on coins which have the same obverse die, they seem to be contemporaneous.

MULES connecting A subdivision (3) and B subdivision (1) [Pl. XVIII. 6].

One mule has an obverse, the other a reverse of the earlier issue.

B. 1360-1369 [Pl. XVIII. 7; XIX. 15; XX. 21].

(1) Transitional issue with various obverse and reverse inscriptions.

The form of the king's title is not yet stereotyped as "Rex Angl Dns Hyb & Aqt." On the reverse occur both forms P and PQR; "Illorum" is usually abbreviated to ILLORR. TRANSIENS is now spelt correctly, though the form TRANCIENS still occurs and a variety TRANSIENS. R is taking the place of the unbarred Roman II, but barred N is also found. Q is generally written as 6 upside down, so that the tail hangs to left instead of right (9). Annulets or large pellets instead of trefoils are placed at the angles of the central compartment of the reverse. The fleur-de-lys is still placed over the lion's head in the second quarter of the reverse.

On most quarter-nobles of this issue the central compartment of the reverse is omitted and an annulet or large pellet placed in each angle and in the centre of the cross.

The half-nobles of this issue omit RQ in the reverse inscription, some nobles similarly omit TRANSIENS [Pl. XVIII. 7; XIX. 15].

As no Calais coins are found of this type, and the Calais mint first issued gold in 1363, I should assume B (1) to last from 1360 to 1362 or 1363.

- (2) π in IB π T. Saltire at beginning of obverse legend [Pl. XIX. 8; XX. 16, 22].

The obverse and reverse inscriptions are now fixed, trefoils are again placed at the angles of the central compartment of the reverse, the lis over the lion's head is omitted. This subdivision is distinguished from the next by the unbarred π in IB π T and by the saltire, which invariably begins the obverse inscription (it is omitted, however, on the quarter-nobles). Lombardic R and correct Q are invariable, and N takes the place of T as abbreviation for "Et."

At the beginning of this division a change takes place in the form of X; on quarter-nobles of B (2) both forms of X (\diamond and \mathbf{X}) occur.

SUB-MULES connecting subdivisions (2) and (3).

These have obverses which are used also to strike true coins with IB π T reverses. Such obverses are marked by the annulet at the beginning of the obverse legend and the barred π in π QT which, though not invariable in subdivision (3), never occurs on coins of subdivision (2). The reverses are marked as belonging to subdivision (2) by the unbarred π in IB π T.

- (3) π in IB π T. Annulet at beginning of obverse legend [Pl. XIX. 9; XX. 17, 23].

The π , always barred in IB π T, is sometimes barred and sometimes unbarred in π QT and also in 6R π . The barred π in π QT and 6R π seems not significant of any special period, for π QT occurs both on mules of B (2) and B (3) (see 96-102), and on coins whose reverse dies form mules of B (3) and C (see Nos. 155-157). Both 6R π and 6R π occur on mules 96-102, and both again on crescent coins 155-157. At the end of the series occur a few nobles with a crescent on the forecastle [Pl. XIX. 10]; their position at the end of this series is shown by two coins (156, 157) whose reverse dies are also used to make mules with the issue of 1369-1377.

On the half and quarter-nobles, where the inscription is not the same as on the nobles, the distinctive barred

A of subdivision (3) is always the last A in the legend. Thus on the reverse of the half-noble the second A of $\pi R6V\Lambda S$, and on the reverse of the quarter-noble the A of $6LORIA$, are always barred in subdivision (3) and unbarred in subdivision (2); on the obverse of the quarter-noble the A of $\pi R6L$ corresponds with that of ΛQT on the noble and half-noble. Though the saltire is omitted at the beginning of the obverse inscription on quarter-nobles of subdivision (2), in subdivision (3) the annulet distinguishes coins of this issue as in the higher denominations. The quarter-nobles have a fleur-de-lys instead of α in the centre of the reverse in both subdivisions (2) and (3).

MULES connecting B, subdivision (3), and C [Pl. XIX. 11].

These all have the obverse of the later issue. The first three (158, 159, [ec]) show an obverse similar to that of the previous issue (B 3), with the addition of the French title, an obverse apparently not found with true reverses of C; the fourth ([ff]) has a new type of obverse of much finer work than the previous issues of the fourth coinage; the most obvious difference is seen perhaps in the ship, which has the fore and aft castles battlemented and an anchor rope let out from the bows. This new style of ship continues from this year (presumably 1369) till the end of the heavy coinage of Henry IV (1412). The obverse die of this last mule also forms the true coin 160.

C. 1369-1377 [Pl. XIX. 12].

The new style of ship on the obverse of this issue is mentioned above; the lettering of the inscriptions is also of better work and differs in some points. The abbreviation for "Et" again changes (from N to H). The A in "Ibat" has an angular bar (π). In the centre of the reverse a pellet always appears in front of the α . The Aquitaine title varies from πQ to $\pi QVIT$. The annulet which begins the legend is placed above the sail of the ship. I have not seen any London half-nobles of this issue, though their existence is shown by one which has αD on the obverse altered

to RII and R punched over \mathfrak{A} in the centre of the reverse; it has the second A of "Arguas," which should correspond with the \mathfrak{A} of IB \mathfrak{A} T, unbarred, otherwise it corresponds with the nobles. Nor have I yet seen any quarter-nobles of either the London or Calais Mint of this issue. Kenyon is certainly not justified in giving those with the compartment on the reverse having trefoils at its angles to this latest issue, such are the quarter-nobles mentioned above which have a fleur-de-lys in this compartment, and correspond minutely with the nobles of B (2) and B (3).

The nobles attributed to the Calais Mint have for convenience been placed together at the end. The issue of 1363-1369, and the mules of this and the subsequent issue, are divided into two classes: (*a*) those without, and (*b*) those with a flag at the stern of the ship. These classes seem to have been issued contemporaneously, as mules are formed with both types connecting the issues of 1363-1369 and 1369-1377. The attribution to Calais, which there seems no reason to doubt, rests on the \mathfrak{A} in the centre of the reverse, a feature common to the two classes of the first issue. Another feature which they have in common is the substitution of trefoils for saltires between η YB, X and π QT; these trefoils, however, change to saltires on what are assumed to be the later coins of the same issue. On mules of the flag type (class *b*) \mathfrak{A} is placed in the centre of the reverse, and with a pellet added, as on London coins, throughout the later issue (all of which coins are of the flag type); but in spite of \mathfrak{A} replacing \mathfrak{A} these coins are connected with Calais by the flag, and also by a voided quatrefoil beginning the legend (usually placed over the ship's sail), which is also seen on the late coins of flag type of

1360-1369, which have α in the centre of the reverse (183-188). A half-noble, which forms a mule between the two issues, has α in the centre of the reverse, though it has the flag obverse [Pl. XXI. 33]. The issues are thus classified :—

1363-1369—

(a) Without flag [Pl. XX. 24, 25 ; XXI. 31].

Of these coins Nos. 166-171 [Pl. XX. 24] are clearly parallel to B (2), the IB π T coins of the London Mint, having the π unbarred in IB π T and the saltire at the beginning of the obverse legend ; and No. 174 [Pl. XX. 25] is equally clearly parallel to B (3), the IB $\bar{\pi}$ T coins of London, having $\bar{\pi}$ barred in IB $\bar{\pi}$ T, GR $\bar{\alpha}$, and $\bar{\alpha}$ QT. The annulet on this coin, instead of beginning the legend, is placed after the α D of α DWARD. Nos. 166-171 have trefoils between the last three words of the obverse legend, and No. 174 has saltires. Nos. 172 and 173 are similar to 166-171, but have the saltire omitted at beginning of the obverse legend.

(b) With flag [Pl. XX. 26, 27 ; XXI. 32].

Nos. 175-182 [Pl. XX. 26], which have a saltire or nothing at the beginning of the obverse legend and π unbarred in IB π T and π QT, seem parallel to Nos. 166-173 and B (2) of the London series. The trefoils are here also found in place of saltires between the last three words of the obverse legend. On Nos. 183-188 [Pl. XX. 27] these trefoils are changed to saltires, and a voided quatrefoil begins the obverse legend, but π remains unbarred in IB π T. It will be noticed that this change of trefoils to saltires appears in class (a) only on the coin (174) which has the $\bar{\pi}$ barred in IB $\bar{\pi}$ T and $\bar{\alpha}$ QT and an annulet in α D = WARD ; the voided quatrefoil which begins the obverse legend is used also on the mules of this class and the next issue (Nos. 192-195), and throughout the 1369-1377 issue, and has not appeared

on any previous issue. These coins (183-188) seem therefore to be parallel to No. 174 and the IBAT coins (B 3) of London; or perhaps should rather be classed as sub-mules with obverse of a late issue of class (b) parallel to B (3) and reverse of an earlier issue of class (b) parallel to B (2), as the mules 192-195 certainly seem to show the existence of a reverse in class (b) which has the A barred in IBAT, and substitutes A for A in the central compartment, which would then be parallel to B (3), and so form a true reverse for the obverse of Nos. 183-188.

MULES connecting issues of 1360-1369 and 1369-1377 [Pl. XXI. 28, 29, 33].

These mules are of both classes, (a) and (b). The three of class (a), Nos. 189-191 [Pl. XXI. 28], show the same type of obverse as the preceding issue with the addition of the French title; the annulet is placed at the beginning of the inscription. Those of the flag type, Nos. 192-195 [Pl. XXI. 29], have the new obverse with new type of ship, finer lettering, and Et as abbreviation for "Et," precisely similar to the London issue of 1369-1377, except for the voided quatrefoil which begins the legend and is now placed over the ship's sail; A, as before mentioned, takes the place of A in the centre of the reverse.

It may be said that these coins (Nos. 189-195), being by no means few in comparison to the scarcity of all Calais nobles of this reign, should rather be treated as true coins of an early issue of 1369-1377, and not as mules connecting the two issues. I have no fault to find with this opinion, and believe it to be quite possible that the type of reverse with A barred in IBAT was not changed during the first year or two of the 1369-1377 issue; and with the flag type (Nos. 192-195) one may well believe that the change from A to A in the centre of the reverse marks the issue of 1369-1377. As regards the chronological sequence and the actual date of these coins, it makes no difference whether they be regarded as mules or true

coins, they must in any case have been issued in 1369, or very shortly after. I prefer to class them as mules from analogy with the London issues, for Nos. 189-191 are exactly parallel to Nos. 158, 159, and [ee], of which 158 and [ee] are certain mules, as their own reverse dies strike true coins (156 and 157) of the earlier issue (B 3). Possibly the reversing of the letter in the centre of the reverse compartment (see Nos. 159, 189, 190) may be a deliberate change used to mark the reverse dies of the new issue (1369-1377), as the pellet beside the Π marks the reverse dies issued in conjunction with the obverses which have the new type of ship and the abbreviation Π . In this case our classification will be :—

LONDON.	CALAIS.
Mules connecting B (3) and C (a)—	
Nos. 158, [ee].	No. 191.
C (a), old type of obverse with French title added, letter reversed in centre of reverse—	
No. 159.	Nos. 189, 190.
Sub-mules connecting C (a) and C (b)—	
[ff].	Nos. 192-195.
C (b), new type of obverse and reverse. (At London IBTT, at Calais IBTT)—	
Nos. 160-165, [gg], [hh].	Nos. 196-200.

I think there is certainly something to be said in favour of this classification. But it must be remembered that the gold currency of the last eight years of this reign is very poorly represented at the present time, especially the Calais issues, which during these years were greater than those of the London Mint. The few specimens of Calais gold coins that have been found in the English hoards must not be taken to represent the relative proportion of the various issues of this mint.

1369-1377 [Pl. XXI. 30, 34].

These nobles all have the flag at the stern of the ship, and, as the London coins, a pellet in front of α in the reverse compartment; they differ from the London coins in having π unbarred in IB π T, a voided quatrefoil commencing the obverse legend (placed above the ship's sail) and two small pellets beside the lis at the end of the upper and lower limbs (on one coin, No. 200, upper limb only) of the cross on the reverse. All in this find and in the National Collection have π QVIT for the Aquitaine title.

From the few specimens known, it seems that the Calais half-nobles follow closely the issues of the nobles (after the year 1363). In the last issue, however, the old abbreviation (N) for "Et" is used instead of β , and the pellets do not appear beside the lis at the ends of the reverse cross, nor the pellet beside the α in the centre of the reverse. A mule half-noble in the British Museum [Pl. XXI. 33] has the obverse of 1369-1377, and a reverse with α in the centre, and the second π of π RGV π S (which corresponds to the π of IB π T) unbarred.

Quarter-nobles cannot with any certainty be attributed to Calais. As far as one can judge from the few existing specimens, the London issues of quarter-nobles seem to follow closely the issues of nobles down to 1369; of the last issue, 1369-1377, no quarter-nobles are, so far as I am aware, at present known. The three subdivisions, B (1), B (2), B (3), are clearly marked as on the nobles: B (1), the transitional issue, has varieties of legends similar to those noted on the nobles, and also varieties of reverse type, of which the common one is figured on Pl. XX. 21; B (2) and B (3) both have a fleur-de-lys in the central compartment of the reverse; B (3) [Pl. XX. 23] has the λ sometimes barred in λ RGL and always in

GLORIA, like the A in AQT and IBAT on nobles of this class, and also corresponds with the nobles in having an annulet at the beginning of the obverse legend, whereas quarter-nobles of B(2) [Pl. XX. 22], like the corresponding nobles, have the unbarred π in π ΩGL and GLORIA π , though they differ from the nobles in having the saltire omitted at the beginning of the obverse legend.

There is also a series of quarter-nobles belonging apparently to the subdivisions B(2) and (3) which have in the centre of the reverse an annulet or a voided quatrefoil. I have seen five varieties:—

With annulet in centre of reverse:

- (i) In all points, except the substitution of this annulet for the fleur-de-lys, similar to quarter-nobles of B(2) [Pl. XXI. 35].
- (ii) As (i), with addition of a cross enclosed in a circle above the shield [Pl. XXI. 36].
- (iii) As (ii), with addition of a pellet beginning the obverse legend.

With voided quatrefoil in centre of reverse:

- (iv) Except for the substitution of this voided quatrefoil for the fleur-de-lys, similar to quarter-nobles of B(2), with addition of a plain cross above the shield [Pl. XXI. 37].
- (v) As (iv), but with crescent instead of plain cross above shield (F. A. Walters Collection) [Pl. XXI. 38].

There seems to me some probability in an attribution of these coins to the Calais Mint, and for this attribution I will here give as briefly as possible my reasons, though it is admitted that no very clear proof is available, and the attribution rests largely on the negative evidence of

apparent impossibility of fitting these in with the London nobles. The last of the five varieties here mentioned [Pl. XXI 38] can be approximately dated; the crescent above the shield on its obverse connects it clearly with the short issue of nobles which have a crescent on the forecastle of the ship (Nos. 155-157). These are shown by the mules 158 and [ee], which are struck from the same reverse die as two of these coins, to come right at the end of the third subdivision of 1360-1369 (B 3), *i.e.* immediately before class C (1369-1377). This quarter-noble, variety (v), should therefore correspond with the B (3) quarter-nobles and have the $\bar{\Lambda}$ barred in $\bar{\Lambda}\Omega\epsilon\Lambda$ and $\epsilon\Lambda\Omega\text{RI}\bar{\Lambda}$, and with this the obverse fits (there is a trace of something that may be an annulet at the beginning of the legend, but it may possibly be a flaw in the surface); but on the reverse the π in $\epsilon\Lambda\Omega\text{RI}\bar{\Lambda}$ is unbarred; it must therefore, if a London coin, be a "sub-mule" between B (2) and B (3). This seems to me a serious difficulty, as crescent quarter-nobles, if muled at all, should (like the nobles) be muled with the next issue, 1369-1377 (*cf.* 158, [ee]). In the above notes on Calais nobles, however, it has been shown that there seems good reason for believing that the unbarred π continued at Calais longer than at London, and that the barred $\bar{\Lambda}$ was only introduced just before the 1369-1377 issue,¹² and a half-noble mentioned above,¹³ which combines a 1369-1377 obverse with a 1363-1369 reverse with α in centre and π in $\pi\text{RE}\bar{\Lambda}\text{VS}$ unbarred, strongly confirms this. At Calais, therefore, a crescent coin with unbarred π in $\epsilon\Lambda\Omega\text{RI}\bar{\Lambda}$ is not unnatural, and thus the attribution to Calais removes the difficulty of considering it a mule between

¹² See above, p. 321.

¹³ See above, p. 323.

B (2) and the crescent issue of B (3), which the London attribution necessitates. The annulet, whether it exists or not, at the beginning of the obverse legend, will equally fit Calais, as it is found on nobles 174, 189-191, and not on Nos. 183-188. A further point to be noticed on this coin, in common with variety No. (iv), is the voided quatrefoil in the centre of the reverse. A similar, perhaps identical, symbol appears at the beginning of the obverse legend and on the king's breast on a York penny of 1360-1369; and another, perhaps similar, is seen in the centre of the reverse of one of the transitional quarter-nobles of B (1), presumably of London, on the die of which the regular compartment, traces of which are still visible, seems to have been erased, and this symbol put in its place (the annulets which were at the angles of the compartment remaining round this symbol). Later the voided quatrefoil, undoubtedly identical with that in the centre of these quarter-nobles, occurs regularly on flag nobles from the middle of the 1363-1369 issue to the end of the 1369-1377 issue (see Nos. 183-188, 192-200). As it occurs so regularly on these late coins of Calais, I am inclined to consider it as a mark at this time peculiar to this mint; if it was used previously at York and London on the penny and quarter-noble above mentioned, a parallel may be found for the adoption at Calais of a symbol used elsewhere at an earlier period in the pellets which are seen at the end of the cross on the reverse of London nobles of A (3) (Nos. 40-44, &c.), and never again except on Calais coins of the last issue (Nos. 196-200). If we attribute these quarter-nobles with voided quatrefoil to London we must assume that there is a corresponding issue of London nobles, of which some specimens—seeing that at Calais this symbol

marks a long continuous issue, and not a short output like the crescent of B (3) or the coronet of A (2)—must surely have appeared in so large and apparently complete a hoard of London nobles. This symbol, then, which I take to be at this time peculiar to Calais, connects variety (v) with variety (iv), on which is seen a plain cross above the shield [Pl. XXI. 37]; this plain cross again connects (iv) with (ii) and (iii) [Pl. XXI. 36], on which coins it is placed within a circle. On these coins is seen an annulet in centre of the reverse which is the sole point of difference between variety (i) [Pl. XXI. 35] and the ordinary quarter-nobles of B (2).

Thus there seems to be a thread of argument, perhaps a slight one, by which these five varieties may be connected not only with each other, but also, through No. (v), with the issue of nobles attributed to the Calais Mint; but if they may not be attributed to Calais, I am at present quite at a loss to find how they may be fitted in with the London nobles. My opinion is that on Calais quarter-nobles the mark of subdivision B (3), the annulet, was removed from the beginning of the obverse legend to the centre of the reverse, and thus variety (i) was formed. Later, a further mark of difference was added by means of a cross in a circle above the shield, forming varieties (ii) and (iii). As on flag nobles a voided quatrefoil takes the place of the annulet, so on the corresponding quarter-nobles this is found, like the annulet, in the centre of the reverse, the circle is removed from the cross above the shield, and so variety (iv) is made; and finally the mark of difference is removed to make room for the mark of issue, or crescent, which is used also at London, and thus we arrive at variety (v). This, of course, assumes the existence of Calais crescent

nobles, but that is to my mind an easier assumption, considering the comparative rarity of Calais coins,¹⁴ than that of London nobles with a voided quatrefoil to correspond with those quarter-nobles (iv) and (v).

This paper will naturally seem incomplete without any reference to the silver coins or any attempt to trace the corresponding issues of silver, but the arrangement of the gold coins and the connexion by obverse dies of their several issues has occupied considerable length both of time and space. It is therefore hoped that it will be possible later to make some attempt to connect the silver with these issues of gold, and to publish the results, if any can be obtained, in a future number of the *Numismatic Chronicle*.

G. C. BROOKE.

LIST OF COINS FIGURED ON PLATES XVIII-XXI.

These coins are all, with the exception of No. 38 on Pl. **XXI**, in the British Museum. Those from the East Raynham Find are marked with the letters E.R.F. Numbers, or letters in brackets, will be found identifying specimens which are described in the list of East Raynham nobles.

PLATE XVIII.

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| 1. Noble. | Mule, <i>obv.</i> 1351-1360 (A 1); <i>rev.</i> 1346-1351. [a]. |
| 2. " | 1351-1360, A 1. [c]. |
| 3. " | " A 2. E.R.F. 15. |
| 4. " | " " with Coronet mint-mark.
E.R.F. 21. |
| 5. " | " A 3. E.R.F. 59. |
| 6. " | Mule, <i>obv.</i> 1360-1369 (B 1); <i>rev.</i> 1351-1360
(A 3). E.R.F. 69. |
| 7. " | 1360-1369, B 1. E.R.F. 70. |

¹⁴ See above, p. 322.

PLATE XIX.

8. Noble. 1360-1369, B 2. E.R.F. 78.
9. " " B 3. E.R.F. 182.
10. " " " with Crescent on forecastle.
E.R.F. 155.
11. " Mule, *obv.* 1369-1377 (C); *rev.* 1360-1369
(B 3). E.R.F. 158.
12. " 1369-1377, C (similar to 164).
13. Half-noble. Mule, *obv.* 1351-1360 (A 2); *rev.* 1346-
1351.
14. " 1351-1360, A 3.
15. " 1360-1369, B 1.

PLATE XX.

16. Half-noble. 1360-1369, B 2.
17. " " B 3.
18. Quarter-noble, 1351-1360, A 1.
19. " " A 2.
20. " " A 3.
21. " 1360-1369, B 1.
22. " " B 2.
23. " " B 3.
24. Calais Noble, 1363-1369 (*a*), parallel with B 2. (Same
dies as 169.)
25. " " " parallel with B 3. E.R.F.
174.
26. " " " (*b*), parallel with B 2. E.R.F.
181.
27. " " " parallel with B 3 (*g*). E.R.F.
188.

PLATE XXI.

28. Calais Noble. Mule, *obv.* 1369-1377; *rev.* 1363-1369
(*a*). E.R.F. 189.
29. " " Mule, *obv.* 1369-1377; *rev.* 1363-1369
(*b*). E.R.F. 192.
30. " " 1369-1377. E.R.F. 200.

31. Calais Half-noble, 1363-1369 (*a*), parallel to B 2.
 32. " " " (*b*) " "
 33. " " Mule, *obv.* 1369-1377; *rev.* 1363-1369.
 34. " " 1369-1377.
 35. Quarter-noble, var. (i). Calais (T).
 36. " var. (ii). "
 37. " var. (iv). "
 38. " var. (v). " (Mr. F. A. Walters.)
 G. C. B.

XIV.

THE BRISTOL MINT OF HENRY VIII AND EDWARD VI.

THE Norman castle of Robert Earl of Gloucester sheltered within its walls the Tudor mint with which I am about to deal, and doubtless the same stronghold protected the moneyers of the Angevin and later kings, who had worked in the western city which then claimed the second place in England.

The mint at Bristol had been closed after the death of Edward IV in 1483, and was not reopened until 1546, when Henry VIII set up a new and unusually complete establishment, as will presently appear.

I shall hope to make clear from official sources the history of its inception, the results of its working, and the causes which brought about its untimely end in the second year of Edward VI, after a short but by no means humdrum life of some three and a half years. Having attempted that, I propose to consider in the light of the documentary evidence the attribution and arrangement of the Bristol coins of the period.

It may be conjectured that the geographical position and commercial importance of the city were the determining factors with Henry's Council when they advised the restarting of the mint in 1546. The decision to transfer the coining of Irish money from the Tower of London to Bristol indicates that the latter was regarded as

the most convenient port from which to make shipments, and as regards English territory the situation of the town was no less favourable; a triangle of royal mints, with the apex at York and the base resting on Canterbury and the mouth of the Somerset Avon, practically covered the whole country and facilitated both the collection of bullion and the distribution of the finished products.

The people of Bristol were not slow in appreciating the benefits to be derived from the existence of an exchange and mint within their boundaries, as is shown by one of the earliest references to the subject in which Henry thanks the civic authorities for having entertained William Sharington (of whom much will be heard later) at what was probably an inauguration ceremony and a feast.

A few years previously, in 1542, the king had erected a bishopric in the city, Paul Bushe being the first occupant of the see, but the mint which soon followed was in no way under the control of the ecclesiastical power, as had been the case in two or three of the older cathedral towns.

The historical evidence begins with the appointment of the chief officers; Patent Roll 37 Henry VIII (1546), part 13, all being dated April 5:

To William Sharington a grant of the office of under-treasurer of the exchange and mint in the city of Bristowe. 200 marks *p. a.*

Roger Wygmore, the office of comptroller. £40.

Thomas Marshall, assay master. £40.

James Pagett, teller (*numismator*). 40 marks.

Giles Evenet, graver of the irons. £20.

Wm. Goldsmythe, porter (*hostiarius*). £10.

All the grants to take effect from the Feast of the Annunciation then last past.

On a Patent Roll of 38 Henry VIII I find Wm. Dunche as auditor.

The lesser offices were not granted by letters patent from the Crown, but the names of the holders will appear later among the accounts.

Having made these appointments, the king with characteristic caution placed some of the grantees under a bond in order to secure himself against any shortcomings, a not unnecessary form of insurance as the sequel will show. A Close Roll of 37 Henry VIII, part 13, records that Wm. Sharington, *esq.*, was bound by recognizance in 1000 marks sterling to observe the covenants of an indenture dated April 1, 1546, and that Roger Wygmore, *gen.*, and Thos. Marshall, goldsmith, of S. Mary Wolner, were respectively bound in 500 marks, with sureties in each case. On April 4, 1546, a warrant ordered Mr. Cofferer to deliver £1000 "in the prest" (*i.e.* by way of advance) to Sharington for provision of gold and silver bullion to be coined at Bristol, thus furnishing the new undertaking with working capital.

On the 1st of the same month the indenture for the mint had been executed, but the original deed is not to be found, in addition to which the neglect to enrol it in the usual manner upon the Close Rolls has deprived us of any opportunity of learning its terms and provisos. If this important instrument, or an enrolment, had survived, its contents would have supplied much information which is now wanting. A similar comment must, unfortunately, be made with regard to every one of the later commissions directed to the Bristol officers, and were it not for some useful details included with the accounts, there would be no facts within reach to

prove what standards had been ordered. So we must be grateful for the half loaf.

I have already said that Henry allotted a full complement of officers to his new mint, the number having been enlarged by the addition of a graver. This latter appointment is of some importance, seeing that no other English country mint of the period had such an official upon the staff. A search among the papers of Southwark and York reveals the negative evidence that no allowance was claimed for the fees of any gravers, and the same with regard to Canterbury, the irons for which were made by the smith in the Tower. Therefore the employment of an artist at Bristol was certainly exceptional, and should be borne in mind when comparing the coins with those issued from the central mint in London. Again, no other contemporary provincial mint was entrusted with the coining of gold.

The Bristol undertaking having been set on foot, the first milestone on the road is an account prepared and vouched by the master, or under-treasurer as he is formally styled, Wm. Sharington, covering a period of eleven months from May 1, 38 Henry VIII (1546), to March 31, 1 Edward VI (1547). The output of the mint between the dates is illustrated by the figures given below, some of which are extracted from a parallel account in the Domestic State Papers, fractions of £1 and 1 lb being omitted throughout.

1. Gold of 20 cts. fine was coined to the extent of 213 lbs. weight.

2. Silver of 4 oz. fine was coined to the extent of 16,833 lbs. weight.

Silver bullion of 4 oz. was not used during August and September, 1546, "by reason of coining of Irish money."

3. "Harpe grotes" of 3 oz. fine silver were coined to the extent of 3657 lbs. weight, being valued at 34s. the lb.

(Exch. Acc'ts. 302/30 and S. P. Dom. Ed. VI, vols. 1 and 4.)

It should be here noted that Henry VIII died on January 28, 1546-7, about eight months after the re-opening of this mint, and that Sharrington received the honour of knighthood at the coronation of Edward VI. Next follows a second account by the under-treasurer for six months from April 1, 1 Ed. VI (1547), until September 30 then next ensuing, during which time—

1. Gold of 20 cts. fine was coined to the extent of 204 lbs. weight.

2. Silver of 4 oz. fine was coined to the extent of 6838 lbs. weight.

The striking of Irish currency was entirely discontinued during this half-year, and Sharrington was indebted to the king in the sum of £8654 at the close of the transactions.

As the document supplies the names of certain officers who have not yet been mentioned, it will be desirable to transcribe them, as Ruding's list is very far from being complete :

John Barnes, surveyor of meltings, 26. 13. 4 *p.s.*

John Elles, finer, 20. 0. 0.

Wm. Redfern, chief melter, 13. 6. 8.

Thos. Smythe, overseer of moneyers, 10. 0. 0.

Rowland Trytell and Thos. Petytt, chief blanchers, 13. 6. 8 each.

Geo. Knighte, clerk of the irons, 20. 0. 0.

The annual fees in the aggregate were £426.

It is much to be regretted that the accountant did not

state the quantities of each denomination in addition to the total weight, but the figures were generally presented for audit in this skeleton form.

There are no accounts from Sir W. Sharington of a later date than the return ending September 30, 1547, consequently there is a dearth of information until another under-treasurer tabulates the results of his stewardship as from January 1, 1548-9, but much had happened at Bristol Castle during the interval.

Edward VI had good reason to suppose that Sharington was implicated in the misdeeds of Lord Seymour of Sudeley, and therefore sent down four commissioners named Chamberlain, Fisher, Berwick, and Recorde to take possession of the mint in January, 1548-9, and to sequester the property of the under-treasurer. The measure of his offences may be gauged by a confession made on February 2, 1548-9, when he was a prisoner in the Tower, the details of which were printed by Strype in *Eccl. Memorials*. Sharington admitted that during May, June, and July, 1547, he had coined testons (*i.e.* of Henry VIII) "to a great sum," in defiance of the prohibition against striking such pieces, that he had defrauded the king by shearing the money to an amount exceeding £4000, that he had made the coins too light beyond the limits of the "remedy" provided by the indenture, and, finally, that he had falsified the books and burnt the documents. One other citation may be made from his subsequent admissions: he acknowledged having said to Seymour, "if you give me a little warning I shall be able to make you as much as I shall have stuff to make it of," and later, "that he (Seymour) should not lack if I were able to make it and if the mint did stand at Bristol."

Truly a lamentable condition of affairs, which may explain in some degree the absence of many written instruments.

The sins of the late under-treasurer were but lightly visited upon him; by good fortune or influence he escaped the headsman's block, and in the end was pardoned by letters patent of November 5, 1549. I have often read that Sharington "counterfeited" testons in the mint under his control, but it would perhaps be more accurate to say that these coins were unauthorized or unlawful, seeing that they were of the correct type, standard and weight, and now undistinguishable from those struck at the same place before the testons of Henry were condemned by Edward's proclamations. It should be remembered that the young king's debased pieces of twelve pence were never officially designated as testons but invariably as shillings, the former term being apparently *anathema*, and generally qualified by the words "lately called."

We now reach the last phase of the mint's operations, when Sir Thomas Chamberlain had been appointed under-treasurer, and was engaged in straightening out the tangled skein left by his predecessor. The former has given to us a most careful statement of all that was found when he and his brother commissioners seized the castle on behalf of the king, together with an account relating to the moneys struck during the ten months which elapsed before the final closing of the doors. A few material extracts from this lengthy document are next appended.

Exchequer Account 303/6.

The period covered is 1 year 2 months and 25 days, from 1 Jan. 2 Ed. VI (1548-9) until 25 Mar. 4 Ed. VI (1550). The heading recites that Chamberlain and three other officers of the mint had struck silver moneys in accordance with (1) a commission of 24 Jan. 1548-9, authorizing them to coin at Bristol shillings and half-shillings of 8 oz. fine silver, and to continue the striking of groats, half-groats, pence and half-pence of 4 oz. fine, as ordered by an indenture with Sharrington of 16 Feb. 1547-8, and also to continue the converting of testons in accordance with a commission of the last-named date; and (2) a commission directed to Peckham, Chamberlain and others, dated 12 April 1549, and authorizing them to strike shillings of 6 oz. fine.

This recital serves a useful purpose by proving the issue of instructions which are not mentioned elsewhere in existing records. It will be noticed that one commission orders shillings and sixpences of the 8 oz. standard, but it is doubtful whether full effect was given to the order as the smaller denomination is unknown in connexion with Bristol.

Among sundry items of bullion found in the mint were three parcels of sterling silver weighing about 43 lbs., which, "being coined with the print of angels," and valued at 4s. 10d. the ounce, amounted to £125. The meaning of the entry and the identification of the silver angels form a *crux* which I cannot solve, but I shall hope for enlightenment when these particulars become known to our Fellows. Meanwhile, it has been suggested to me that the pieces were used at the ceremony of "Touching," and it is not unlikely

that an explanation must be sought for in that direction.

There was also a significant discovery of 1839 lbs. of testons valued at 49s. the lb., together with a few that were claimed by private persons. I am disposed to infer, although it is not so stated, that this large quantity of the prohibited coins must be connected with Sharington's misdemeanours.

Three instances occur of the spoliation of the churches for mint purposes, two of which furnish information previously unknown, as I am told, to the respective capitular bodies. The accountant had received—

1. From the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury 323 lbs. gilt silver plate at 5s. 8d. the ounce, £1097; and 42 lbs. parcel gilt, at 4s. 10d., £123. Also "tenne coopes," for want of plate to make up the levy of 2000 marks, valued at £112. These items were surrendered in obedience to a letter from the Privy Council of July 31, 1549, but no inventory accompanied them.

2. From the Bishop, Dean and Chapter of Wells, 30 oz. of gold being the fore part of a cross appertaining to the said church, at 50s. the ounce, £75. And 128 lbs. of silver plate, viz. 59 lbs. at 5s. 8d. and 69 lbs. at 4s. 10d. the ounce, £402. Also "one myter" which was sold for £14.

3. From the parish churches of Bristol, through the Mayor and Aldermen, 119 lbs. of gilt plate at 5s. 6d., £394, and 165 lbs. of white and parcel gilt at 4s. 10d. the ounce, £479.

Within the time of the account the undermentioned quantities of money were struck, and I would call attention to the absence from the list of any gold coins or Irish harp groats.

Of 4 oz. fine silver, 5978 lbs. weight. Ceased October 31, 1549.

Of 6 oz. fine silver, 306 lbs. weight. Struck in May and June, 1549.

Of testons brought in by the subjects and converted into 4 oz. fine, 13,576 lbs. weight, valued at 48s. the lb. Ceased October 31, 1549.

Of certain other testons and fine silver converted into 6 oz. fine, 538 lbs. weight, valued at 72s. the lb. Struck in May and June, 1549.

During this period of honest activity from January to October, 1549, either 38 or 39 moneyers were working in each month, their pay varying from 5*d.* to 8*d.* *per diem*, with the addition of "borde wages" and liveries for summer and winter.

That Chamberlain did not omit the proving of the moneys made under his care is shown by an allowance for 1 lb. of groats of 4 oz., and $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of shillings, which had been melted at two assays of the pyx before the high treasurer.

It was to be expected that changes would occur among the staff under the new *régime*, as some of the senior men probably shared the fate of the late master of the mint.

Robert Recorde is now comptroller; John Walker, teller; John Mune, provost of the moneyers; Stephen Lathebury, surveyor of the melting-house. A new office is created, viz. the receivership of testons, which was held by John Smith at £16 per annum. This appointment was presumably to assist the mint in carrying out the proclamation of April 10, 1548, which forbade the uttering of testons and ordered them to be brought in for conversion into smaller currency. John Gilman, keeper of the

castle, received a reward for faithful services, and Giles Evenet, the graver, remained at his post.

The risings which took place in the city about 1549 evidently caused anxiety, as I find that a sum of £62 was spent upon "artilerye," and other necessaries for the defence of the building. The weapons that were acquired consisted of bows, arrows, javelins, morris (Moorish) pikes, demi launce staves, flasketts and matches. Among the various materials provided were 96 dozen of coining irons at 7s. doz., the only expenditure upon tools directly used in the industry. The purchase of a "greate boate" for £13 tells us that the mint had access by water to the river Avon, and in May of this year Oliver Dawbeney conveyed £7000 from the castle to Ireland in two voyages, but on other vessels.

Although the account nominally extends to Lady Day, 1550, the work came to an end in October, 1549, the remaining months being occupied in preparations for winding up. Chamberlain relates in the course of some Chancery proceedings that he had been sent as ambassador to Denmark in June, 1549, leaving Recorde in charge at Bristol, and that when he returned to England after six months' absence the mint had been dissolved and the workmen discharged. This confirms, substantially, the date of the latest coining mentioned in this account. It is not without interest, having regard to one of the mint-marks, that the signature of T. Chamberlain at the foot of the last skin of parchment exhibits an intention to form a monogram of the letters T and C.

The concluding document is yet another account: Sir Edmund Peckham, the high treasurer of all the mints, makes a return of the sums received by him from each undertaking, between 36 Henry VIII and 5 Edward VI.

These amounts represent "the revenue and increase of the bullion coined," or, in other words, the profit derived by the Crown. The figures for Bristol show how lucrative even a country mint might be, when efficiently managed.

(Declared accounts. Pipe Office. 2077.)

Received from Sir W. Sharrington—October 5, 38 Henry VIII to October 20, 2 Edward VI—£47,536. This shows an annual yield of £23,700, approximately. From Sir T. Chamberlain—31 March, 3 Edward VI to October 24 in the same year—£9083. An annual yield of £15,500, approximately. From Robt. Recorde, in the last-named year, £1318. This was probably a final payment made by the comptroller during Chamberlain's absence abroad.

On the same roll there is a detailed list of the plate, &c., found at Sharrington's house on Tower Hill and at Lacock Abbey, Wilts. These articles had been sent to the Jewel House, evidently for the purpose of being melted, but the king relented, and by his "gracious liberality" a portion was restored to the dismissed under-treasurer. Some of his effects, to the value of £929, did, however, find their way into the Tower crucibles, a penalty which seems quite appropriate in view of the means by which so much of the wealth was gained.

I can now leave the evidence obtainable from Government manuscripts and turn to the Bristol coins of the sixteenth century, all of which can be satisfactorily identified as regards their place of issue, although there are certain other points less easy of solution which will be discussed later.

The chronological arrangement of the Bristol coinages

of Henry VIII by Mr. R. L. Kenyon in his two volumes on the *Gold Coins* and the *Silver Coins of England*, and by Mr. H. A. Grueber in the *British Museum Handbook*, is based upon the belief that this mint was working for two or three years before the date on which it was in fact established. We have seen that the undertaking was authorized in April, 1546, and that the first coins were struck in the following month. Accepting, as I think we must, the accuracy of all these documents, it follows that Henry's coinages of both metals fall into the class known as the 5th Tower issue of 1545, and should no longer be included among the 3rd and 4th issues of 1543 and 1544, to which years some of the coins have been assigned. Moreover, the transfer would not rest upon the calendar only; the Bristol standards of fineness were 20 cts. for gold and 4 oz. for (English) silver, these proportions corresponding exactly with the two standards used at the Tower in and after 1545.

The Bristol gold pieces of Henry (consisting of the sovereign, half-sovereign, crown, and half-crown) do not show any direct indication of the name of the city whence they came, their attribution being founded upon the mint-mark which chances to be of a very distinctive character. The monogram formed by the letters WS is accepted by numismatists as representing the initials of Sharrington, the first master, and I may add that no gold coins bearing other mint-marks have been allocated to Bristol Castle.

The silver coins, unlike those just described, do not solely depend upon the mark for identification, as they all bear upon the reverse the words, or a variant of "Civitas Bristolie." Their denominations include the teston for 12*d.* (of unhappy memory), the groat, half-groat

and penny, the last-named being without a mint-mark. Passing to the coins of Edward VI, we approach the difficulty to which I have already adverted. No gold coins bearing the name of this king have been identified as the product of the undertaking at Bristol, yet it will be remembered that Sharington's second account states that a considerable weight of gold bullion was coined during Edward's reign.

As to the silver coins of Edward, there are only three bearing his attributes which can be definitely given to Bristol, viz. the penny and halfpenny exhibiting the profile portrait (the former having the mint-mark trefoil), and the shilling dated MDXLIX also with the profile portrait, but depending upon the mint-mark for its association with that city. The mark in question is another cipher or monogram comprising the letters TC, which are held, and rightly I believe, to be intended to express the name of Thomas Chamberlain, the second under-treasurer. I have previously cited an extract proving that he struck a small quantity of 6 oz. silver in May and June, 1549, and to this coinage I would assign the profile shilling with the TC mark.¹ It is quite natural that Evenet the graver, having designed a cipher for Sharington's coins, should follow the same course, and similarly perpetuate the name of the new master.

But there are also a limited number of groats and a still smaller number of half-groats bearing the TC mark with the legends and bust of Henry VIII. If the cipher has been correctly interpreted it must mean that

¹ There is another shilling of the same year, marked *t* only, which is sometimes placed at Bristol; this attribution is very doubtful, and the letter is not a capital as in the monogram.

both coins were struck at least two years after Henry's death, and that they were contemporaneous with the 1549 shilling of Edward which has the same mark. The significance of this monogram raises the general question: What has become of the gold coins struck by Sharrington while he was in office under Edward, and where are the numerous 4 oz. silver coins made by Chamberlain after his arrival on the scene in the second year of that king? An answer can be found in a closely reasoned article by Sir John Evans on "The Debased Coinage bearing the name of Henry VIII" (*Num. Chron.*, Series 3, Vol. VI. p. 114), in which the writer reviews the whole series, the Bristol issues receiving their due share of comment and explanation. The main note running through our late President's treatise is his firm conviction that many coins of Henry's latest types were posthumous, and that some of those struck at Bristol might be regarded as belonging to the coinage of his son Edward.

I am able to-day to carry the argument a stage beyond the point where it was left by Sir John Evans twenty-five years ago. If it can be proved that Edward VI ordered, in set terms, the officers of one of his mints to use the portraits and legends of Henry VIII, such a fact would raise the presumption that similar instructions may have been included in one or more of the missing indentures and commissions relating to Bristol. There is an equal probability that a complete collection of Edwardian mint documents would disclose similar orders throughout the kingdom, as it appears to be somewhat unlikely that one particular establishment would be singled out for carrying into effect so great a departure from the usual practice in such matters. Let

us examine the nature of the evidence which is, for the present, the one fragment of affirmative testimony bearing on the subject.

Pat. Rolls, 4 Edward VI, part 6, m. 17 dors. Dated 1 Feb. (1550-51).

This commission is directed to Sir John Yorke and others of the mint at Suffolk House, in Southwark, authorizing them to melt down and recoin certain testons into pieces of smaller denominations, as to which the following words are used :

"And the same shall be . . . made and printed with the hole face and inscripcion of our most deare late ffather."

It will not be necessary to quote the other portions of the entry, as I may have occasion to return to it in some future notes on Edward's coinages at other towns. I think that no clearer proof could be desired of the fact that the young king intentionally used Henry's name and portraits (at all events when converting testons) as late as the fourth year after his accession to the throne, and it would seem to be a fair inference that such instructions to the officials were not given for the first time in 1550-1.

Applying these conclusions to the Bristol coins which lie in the debatable zone between the two reigns, we may, I feel assured, permanently remove to the period of Edward VI all the groats and half-groats bearing the attributes of Henry VIII in conjunction with the ciphered mark TC.

There remain three classes of coins with regard to which it appears impossible, owing to the overlapping of the types and the WS mark, to erect a boundary fence and say how many of each should be assigned to Henry

and to Edward; consequently the respective proportions must be left undetermined until a key is found which will enable these perplexing coins to be arranged in accordance with the exact dates of striking. It may be that an examination of all the varieties of stops and ornaments in the legends and in the forks of the cross would furnish a guide to the years and months in which they were used. The coins to which the father and son can at present show an equally good title may be thus classified—

1. The gold issues bearing Henry's name and portrait with the WS mark. If a comparison be made of the respective weights of bullion coined in each reign it will be seen that they are nearly identical; therefore any given gold piece has an almost equal chance of belonging to either monarch.

2. The groats and half-groats of Henry with WS, and perhaps the penny without a mark. Here again the two former coins were certainly struck by Sharrington under both kings, and possibly by Chamberlain during a short time.

3. The testons of Henry which were the subject of Sharrington's confession. Pieces of this denomination were admittedly struck at Bristol in Edward's first year, and I am not aware of any means by which the just and the unjust can be differentiated.

I would suggest, in explanation of the comparative rarity of coins bearing the TC cipher, that the WS was in use for some time after Sharrington's departure, owing to the confusion which must have prevailed when Chamberlain took the reins, and that TC was not used until May, 1549, in which month the dated profile shilling of Edward was struck with the same mark. This would

give a period of only five months, May to October, during which the later monogram was placed upon the coins.

Sir John Evans alludes in his article to "the beautiful though somewhat peculiar Lombardic alphabet" which is noticeable in the legends of the Bristol coins. Any variations from the Lombardic characters used at other mints may with confidence be attributed to the local graver, who continued to utilize this alphabet for groats and smaller pieces after the date when Roman letters had been adopted for similar denominations at the Tower. The sovereign occurs, however, with the legends in both characters throughout.

Giles Evenet, if judged by his productions, may be regarded as a man of some talent, whose skill was not inferior to that of his contemporaries at the Tower mint. It is perhaps an open point as to what extent the work on the Bristol dies was exclusively his own and not inspired from headquarters in London; but much of it may be safely credited to Evenet himself. There is one interesting fact which goes to prove that his son, or a relative, possessed similar qualifications. Among the archives of the Corporation of Bristol is a minute of the year 1578 which states that a number of farthing tokens for the use of the city were received by the Mayor on two occasions from Edward Evenet, goldsmith, who had presumably engraved the dies. But it must be confessed that these sixteenth-century tokens are not comparable with the regal coins of thirty years earlier (cf. a paper by Mr. J. E. Pritchard, *Num. Chron.*, Series 3, Vol. XIX. p. 350).

The history of the shilling with the mint-mark TC extends beyond the death of Edward, as a certain number of these coins came under the ban of Elizabeth in 1560, and are to be found bearing a portcullis "right before

the face" as a warning to all concerned that the current value was then only $4\frac{1}{2}d$. I have not, however, yet seen an example from this mint with the countermark of a greyhound "behind the neck," which denoted a still lower standard, and fixed the value at $2\frac{1}{2}d$. These symbols of degradation may have been placed upon Chamberlain's shillings in the disused workshops of the castle in which they had been originally struck, as Bristol was one of the towns appointed for the stamping of Edward's base coinage. An Elizabethan writer has set down in the following words his method of separating the acceptable from the unacceptable pieces: "In the good testons the image of the King has a short neck and a round face, and in the ill testons the Prince has a long neck and a lean face."

It now only remains to touch upon the Irish coinage struck at Bristol, which consisted solely of the denomination known here as the groat, and in Ireland as the sixpence. These coins were similar in type to those of the first and second Irish issues of Henry, having the Arms of England in the field of the obverse and a harp in that of the reverse. Apart from the documentary evidence, the mint-mark WS is the one definite link which attaches the groats to this mint, as was the case with some of the English coins issued from the same place. Dr. Aquilla Smith mentions in *Num. Chron.*, N.S., Vol. XIX. p. 157, three varieties of legend, each of which is in Lombardic characters with Arabic numerals.

1. *Rev.*—WS ET HIBERNIA REX 38.
2. " " " " " without "38."
3. " " FRANCIA ET HIBERNIA REX without "38."

If specimens of Nos. 1 and 3 are examined it will be

noticed that the latter has a narrower harp in addition to the alterations in the legend.

The Exchequer accounts already quoted show that "harpe grotes" of 3 oz. fine silver were made by Sharrington during August and September, 1546, and that his succeeding account, which ran from April to September, 1547, contained no reference to the striking of Irish money. We have also seen that there was then a period of fifteen months, as to which no returns are known to have survived, until January 1, 1548-9, when Chamberlain began his account of the operations in the final year, which did not include any addition to the currency for Ireland.

The deduction from this historical evidence would be that harp groats were not made in Bristol after the death of Henry VIII, but the existence of the dated and undated varieties suggests a possibility that the coins from which the regnal year "38" is absent may have been struck during the period for which the accounts are missing, that is, in the first and second years of Edward VI. It seems improbable that there would have been such a change in the dies during the two months mentioned by Sharrington, both of which fell within Henry's 38th year, while, on the other hand, if Henry's type and legend were used for Ireland after his son's accession, the disappearance of the figures which dated the groats would not be altogether strange. But however doubtful we may feel as to what happened at Bristol during the year which has no annals, it is beyond question that the striking of Irish money was discontinued when Thomas Chamberlain became master there, a step which can be attributed to a decision to reopen in 1549 the mint at Dublin.

HENRY SYMONDS.

XV.

A NOTE ON THE FIRST ISSUE OF GOLD COINS AT ATHENS.

THE question as to the date of the first issue of gold coins at Athens, and the circumstances under which they were issued, can no longer be considered as open to controversy. I do not propose to re-state here the arguments on which is based the accepted view,¹ namely, that this issue dates from 407-406 B.C., and was due to grave financial stress at Athens, but merely to call attention to a small piece of evidence which confirms the correctness of the accepted view as regards the second part of the question. This evidence consists of a passage, unfortunately incomplete, in an Attic inscription belonging to the first quarter of the fourth century B.C.; to be precise it is a fragment of a record of the sacred objects preserved in the Parthenon, dating from some year between 385 and 375 B.C. Part of the stone has been published in *Inscriptiones Graecae*, ii. 2, No. 665, and I recently identified and published² a further fragment from the same inscription; in lines 11-13 of these two stones, when combined, occurs the following entry:

¹ Cf. Köhler, *Z. f. N.*, xxi. pp. 7 foll.; Head, *Historia Numorum*, ed. 2, p. 373. I am much indebted to Mr. Head for enabling me to consult the proof sheets of the revised edition, which had not appeared when this note was written (March, 1911).

² *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxix. (1909), pp. 172 foll.

ἀλαβ[αστοθήκη ξυλίνη, ἄστατος (?)], ἐν ᾗ αἱ χαρακτῆρες καὶ ἀκμονίσκοι εἰσὶν οἷς τοὺς χρυσὸς ἔ]κοπτον, σισήμαντ[α] τῇ δημοσίαι σφραγίδι]. It will be seen that the letters describing precisely what coins were struck with these implements are missing, but we know exactly how many letters are lost, and the restoration proposed suits the epigraphic requirements.

We may with advantage examine the precise meaning of the phrase before we proceed to discuss the restoration from the numismatic aspect. I have already pointed out,³ in publishing the inscription, that the restoration ἀλαβ[αστοθήκη ξυλίνη] is certain, in the light of the corresponding passage in the record belonging to the next year,⁴ which is unluckily either broken away or illegible at this point except for the letters —οθ[ήκ]η ξυλ[ίνη]. The ἀλαβαστοθήκη, which I at first described as an ointment-box, is more likely to have been something of the nature of a pierced rack, into the compartments of which the χαρακτῆρες and ἀκμονίσκοι were inserted vertically, in the manner of the ointment-vases (ἀλάβαστρα) in the object figured as an ἀλαβαστοθήκη by Daremberg and Saglio.⁵ The fact that it was sealed (σισήμανται τῇ δημοσίαι σφραγίδι) lends colour at first to the view that the object was a box, but is not a valid objection to the other explanation, for the rack may well have had a lid, or perhaps there was some method of locking the rack so that the objects could not be removed from it without breaking the seal.

The restoration of the next word as ἄστατος is uncertain, but I have no other suggestion to offer, except

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 176.

⁴ *I. G.*, ii. 2, 606, l. 5.

⁵ *Dict. des Antiquités*, s.v. Alabaster, i. p. 177, figs. 207, 208.

possibly *κλειστή*, and the point is unimportant. The *χαρακτῆρες* were clearly the actual dies from which certain coins, to be discussed later, were struck, and there is no need to cite again the sources of our knowledge of the method of striking coins in the ancient world.⁶ The precise meaning of the word *ἀκμονίσκοι*, which I previously explained⁷ as the anvils, which "no doubt were used for fixing the lower half of the die into," is uncertain, as the word occurs nowhere else. It should naturally mean "small anvils," but Mr. G. F. Hill has suggested to me that it perhaps means the lower dies, as opposed to the *χαρακτῆρες*, which were on this view the upper dies only. This certainly disposes of the possible objection that there would have been no point in dedicating in the Parthenon, and preserving there, such common objects as moneyers' anvils; but as against this we may note (1) that in a later inscription of the same class⁸ two hammers (*σφύραι*) are preserved along with twenty-one *χαρακτῆρες* (unfortunately no explanation is there given of the origin of this lot of dies), and (2) that a likely restoration of another inscription of the same class⁹ gives us the word *ἀ[κ]μον[ε]ς*, which seems to point to the preservation of anvils among the sacred objects in the Parthenon. Thus it is perhaps simpler to take *ἀκμονίσκοι* in the literal sense, in view of these passages, and, as we shall see below, the whole coining apparatus may have been actually used in the Parthenon on some occasion, and thereafter have been solemnly preserved there intact.

The restoration *εἰσὶν οἱ τοὺς χρυσὸς ἑ]κοπτον* is at

⁶ See G. F. Hill, *Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins*, pp. 143 foll.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 177, *ad init.*

⁸ *I. G.*, ii. 2, 721B, col. II., l. 15.

⁹ *I. G.*, ii. 2, 742A, l. 3; cf. *J. H. S.*, xxix. (1900), p. 177, note 17.

first sight unsatisfactory on epigraphical grounds, as the word *τούς* is spelt with upsilon, while *χρυσό(υ)ς* is spelt without it. Such inconsistency, however, is not impossible, and is indeed far from rare, in Attic inscriptions of the earlier years of the fourth century : it is of course equally possible that the engraver wrote *τὸς χρυσοῦς*, and that one of these two alternatives is correct may be inferred from *I. G.*, ii. 2, 666, the record of the following year, where the restoration of the same phrase has to occupy one space less than in our present inscription to fit the number of letters missing, which is achieved by reading *τὸς χρυσῶς*.¹⁰ The word *χρυσοῖ* (= *χρυσοῖ στατηῆρες*), which I hope to demonstrate to be correctly restored here, occurs both in inscriptions and ancient authors, and is the most likely word, on merely internal grounds, to denote gold coins. That the *χρυσοῖ*, in other words the first issue of Attic gold coins, were the coins struck with these implements will, I venture to think, be plain in view of the following considerations.

(1) The mere fact of the preservation of certain coin-implements in one of the treasure-houses of Athena and not in the state mint,¹¹ or in one of the work-shops connected with it, points to some abnormal issue.

(2) The use of the word *ἐκοπτον* points to a currency of which the issue had ceased before the date at which the inscription was engraved (probably between 385 and 375 B.C.).¹²

(3) The number of dies cannot have been very large if they could be contained in an *ἀλαβαστοθήκη*, together

¹⁰ See the restoration given in *J. H. S.*, xxix. (1909), p. 181.

¹¹ For the evidence as to the State Mint (*Ἀργυροκοπεῖον*) see Babelon, *Traité*, I', pp. 507 foll., 832 foll.

¹² *J. H. S.*, loc. cit.

with the ἀκμονίσκοι. That they are to be identified with the twenty-one dies mentioned in the inscription of later date to which I have referred, is an assumption incapable of proof. Assuming that the dies in our present inscription were those from which the first Attic gold coins were struck, they could not have numbered less than eight (four for the obverse and four for the reverse), as we know of four different denominations belonging to this issue,¹³ and it is incredible that there was only one pair of dies cut for each denomination. Under the circumstances there is no real obstacle to the suggested identification of our dies with this other lot of twenty-one, but I prefer to leave the point open.¹⁴

To satisfy these conditions we must look for an issue of Athenian coins which were struck (1) under exceptional circumstances, namely, in close connexion with the cult of Athena Parthenos, and not at the mint in the usual way; (2) at a date before (at the latest) 375 B.C.; (3) in limited numbers. And there seems no refuge from the conclusion that the gold currency which was struck from the melted-down golden statues of Nike (which were preserved prior to 407-406 B.C. in the Parthenon, and disappear from subsequent records¹⁵), in the grave financial crisis which involved Athens in the closing years of the Peloponnesian war, will alone suit the

¹³ *Hist. Num.*, ed. 2, loc. cit. ($\frac{1}{2}$ stater, $\frac{1}{4}$ stater, hekto, and $\frac{1}{8}$ hekto).

¹⁴ There is nothing surprising in the total number of the dies here being an odd number, for probably more reverse dies were cut for the issue in question than obverse dies. Mr. Hill, to whom I am indebted for many helpful suggestions, reminds me that reverse dies wore out or broke more rapidly than obverse-dies, owing to the greater protection afforded to the latter by the surrounding mass of the anvils in which they were embedded. (G. Macdonald, *J. H. S.*, xxiii. (1903), p. 100; G. F. Hill, *B. M. Coins, Phoenicia*, pp. xxxiii. foll.)

¹⁵ Cf. Foucart, *B. C. H.*, xii. (1888), pp. 283 ff.

requirements of our inscription and thus justify the restoration τοὺς χρυσο(ῦ)ς. And we may perhaps go further, and suggest that, in view both of the close connexion between this issue and the worship of Athena,¹⁶ and of the deposition among her treasures of coiners' hammers and (probably) anvils, perhaps on this very occasion, this first issue of Athenian gold coins, and possibly the second issue as well which seems to have taken place under somewhat similar circumstances,¹⁷ was actually struck within the walls of the Parthenon.

ARTHUR M. WOODWARD.

¹⁶ Cf. Köhler, *Z. f. N.*, xxi. p. 15. "Die Goldprägung der Athener hat in enger Beziehung zu dem goldenen Festapparat auf der Akropolis gestanden: diese Schätze sind den Athenern ein Nothpfennig gewesen."

¹⁷ *Hist. Num.*, ed. 2, p. 375.

MISCELLANEA.

FIND OF ALEXANDRIAN COINS IN LONDON.

IN the autumn of 1908 some workmen during excavations for the erection of a house in Fetter Lane, E.C., dug up an earthenware pot containing 46 coins of billon and copper struck at Alexandria. Unfortunately I was unable to obtain any portion of the pot which would have enabled me to a great degree to fix the date of concealment of the coins. I was, however, assured by the workman, from whom I obtained the coins, that they were all found together, and that none of them were obtained from any other part of the excavations. The long period over which the coins extend might raise some doubt as to the time of their concealment; but it is quite possible, from the analogy of finds made from time to time in Egypt, that the coins may all have been in currency together so late as the second half of the third century—that is, to the reign of Carinus 283–285 A.D. I venture therefore to suggest that their burial may have occurred about this date. The following is a list of the coins. The identifications will be sufficient if I give the types of the reverses only.

1. Nero: *rev.* ΠΡΟΝ ΝΕΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ. Emperor seated; year, L.E.
2. Nero: *rev.* ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ. Bust of Serapis; year, L.IB.
3. Vespasian: *rev.* ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ. Alexandria standing, holding wreath and sceptre; year (on *obv.*), L.B.
4. Nerva: *rev.* Serpent with caduceus and ear of corn; year, L.Δ.
5. Ant. Pius: *rev.* Spes standing, holding flower; year, L.A.
6. Ant. Pius: *rev.* Victory walking, holding wreath and palm; year, L.E.
7. Commodus: *rev.* ΥΠΑΤΟC ΤΟ Δ. Jupiter seated; in exergue; year, L.KI.
8. Commodus: *rev.* Head of Serapis; date uncertain.
9. Commodus: *rev.* Athena standing, holding Victory and shield; year, L.Γ.
10. Commodus: *rev.* Head of Serapis; year, L.Γ.
11. Commodus: *rev.* Athena standing, holding spear and Victory; year, L.E.

12. Severus Alexander: *rev.* Fortuna recumbent on couch, holding rudder; year, L.A.
13. Severus Alexander: *rev.* Athena standing, holding Victory and shield; year, L.E.
14. Julia Mamaea: *rev.* Head of Serapis; year, L.IA.
15. Gordian III: *rev.* Eagle; year, L.A.
16. Gordian III: *rev.* Bust of Athena; year, L.S.
17. Tranquillina: *rev.* Concordia standing, holding double cornucopias; year, L.S.
- 18-20. Philip I: *rev.* Eagle; years, L.A.; L.B.; L.E.
21. Philip I: *rev.* Bust of Jupiter; year, L.F.
- 22-24. Philip I: *rev.* Victory standing, holding wreath and palm; years, L.F.; L.E.; L.S.
25. Otacilia Severa: *rev.* Serapis standing; year, L.F.
26. Trajan Decius: *rev.* Alexandria standing, holding sceptre; year, L.A.
27. Valerian: *rev.* Athena standing, holding spear and shield; year, L.B.
28. Valerian: *rev.* Victory standing, facing, holding wreath and palm; year, L.F.
29. Valerian: *rev.* Concordia standing, holding double cornucopias; year, L.A.
- 30, 31. Valerian: *rev.* Eagle; years, L.A.; L.Z.
- 32, 33. Valerian: *rev.* Alexandria standing, holding head of Serapis; years, L.E.; L.Z.
34. Valerian: *rev.* Head of Serapis; year, L.Z.
35. Gallienus: *rev.* Athena seated, holding Victory; year, L.H.
36. Gallienus: *rev.* Eagle; year, L.IA.
37. Salonina: *rev.* Concordia standing, holding double cornucopias; year, L.A.
38. Salonina: *rev.* Eagle; year, L.S.
39. Claudius II: *rev.* Victory standing to r.; year, L.B.
40. Claudius II: *rev.* Victory standing to l.; year, L.B.
41. Aurelian: *rev.* Eagle standing between two sceptres; year, L.A.
42. Probus: *rev.* Eagle; year, L.A.
43. Carinus: *rev.* Spes standing, holding flower; year, L.B.
- 44-46. (Uncertain).

F. D. RINGROSE.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Corpus Nummorum Italicorum, Vol. II. Piemonte-Sardegna, Zecche d'Oltremonti di Casa Savoia. Roma. Tipografia della R. Accademia de' Lincei, 1911.

THE second volume of this great "Corpus" has followed very speedily on the first one. It is a proof of the activity and zeal of the King of Italy and of those who may be associated with him in the production of this monumental work. This volume, as the title tells us, deals with the ultramontane districts of the House of Savoy, Piedmont and Sardinia. The former came under the rule of that illustrious house so far back as the twelfth century; the latter at a

much later date. The descriptions of the coins occupy nearly 500 pages, and the Plates which supply illustrations of all the important pieces number 48. The arrangement is under districts and mints; that is, the coinage of each town is described separately.

The more important series of Piedmont are those of the coins of Asti, Carmagnola, Casale, Desana, Maszerano, and Tassarolo. The coinage of Turin, the present capital of Northern Italy, takes quite a second position. The earlier coins, those of the 12th-13th centuries, consist chiefly of deniers; but many of the States and cities before the end of the latter century began to issue the *grosso* or *gros*, a denomination which found its parallel in the groat of Edward I of England, the institution of which has now been definitely fixed to the year 1279. The English coin was evidently based on these foreign pieces, and it is therefore interesting to note how quickly the money of this country conformed to that of the continent; though it was close on a century before the groat was firmly established as a unit of the coinage here. The next important change in type and denomination of the Italian coins was the introduction of the *teston* and of portraiture, and we find excellent early examples in the money of Asti (Ludovico, Duca d'Orleans, 1465-1498), of Carmagnola (Ludovico II, Marchese di Saluzzo, 1475-1504; and Margarita di Foix, 1504, the latter issuing more a medal than a coin); of Desana (Pietro Bérard, 1516-1529; and Giovanni Bartolomeo Tizzone, 1525-1533), and of Maszerano (Ludovico II da Solo, 1528-1532). Most of these pieces are works of art in portraiture, and a careful study of the artists who produced them would well repay the labour. A search into the records of the various mints would no doubt reveal to us much. The coinage of Sardinia is of a comparatively late date, and the early coins are chiefly Spanish in value and type; in consequence they have but few of the characteristics of the contemporary issues of Italy. The chief mints are those of Cagliari and Villa di Chiesa; but none of their productions take us back before the fifteenth century. The first coinage of Cagliari is of Alfonso V of Aragon (1416-1458). It was in 1721 that Sardinia became an appanage of the House of Savoy, and its first money was then struck at Turin. The Plates, which are indispensable to a work of this nature, are fairly well executed; but they show a need of clearness and detail.

Whilst offering our congratulations on the issue of this second volume, and our best wishes for the future of the

work, we would venture on one suggestion; it is, that it would facilitate reference very considerably if a list of contents were given at the beginning of each volume.

H. A. G.

Chinese Paper Money. H. A. RAMSDEN. Yokohama. 1911.

THIS little book, which is the first of a projected series of *Manuals of Far Eastern Numismatics*, presents in a convenient form much information regarding Chinese paper money which is not readily accessible to the collector. The author has based this book mainly on the works on currency by Klaproth, Edkins, and Morse, and on the Chinese writers on the subject. Full descriptions with numerous illustrations are given, either from specimens in the author's collection or from Chinese numismatic works, of all paper money issued by the Chinese Government from the institution of "flying money" by Hsien Tsung (806-821) A.D. to the extensive issue of assignats during the troubled years of the Tai Ping Rebellion (1851-1853). Mr. Ramsden follows Edkins and Morse in saying that the first issue of Mongol Government notes took place in 1260, the first year of Kublai Khan. It is, of course, well known that Kublai Khan issued notes on a very large scale after his accession, but the Mongols issued notes before they were actually Emperors of China. Marco Polo's account of Kublai's currency, which Mr. Ramsden gives as a supplement, has been frequently quoted. An earlier and less known visitor to the Mongol Court, William of Rubruck, who visited Mangu Khan in 1254, however, tells us that "the common money of Cathay is a paper of cotton in length and breadth a palm, and on it they stamp lines like those on the seal of Mangu" (transl. Rockhill, p. 201). The date 1237 given by Macgowan (*History of China*, p. 420) for the introduction of paper money among the Mongols as distinct from the Yuan dynasty of China, which did not strictly begin to reign till 1280, seems to be the preferable one. In addition to the works quoted by Mr. Ramsden, there is much valuable material on the earlier history of Chinese paper money in Vissering's *On Chinese Currency* (Leyden, 1877), a work which is not well enough known to English writers on the subject. Mr. Ramsden's book ought to stimulate an interest in those interesting historical documents, which have been quite neglected by collectors.

J. A.

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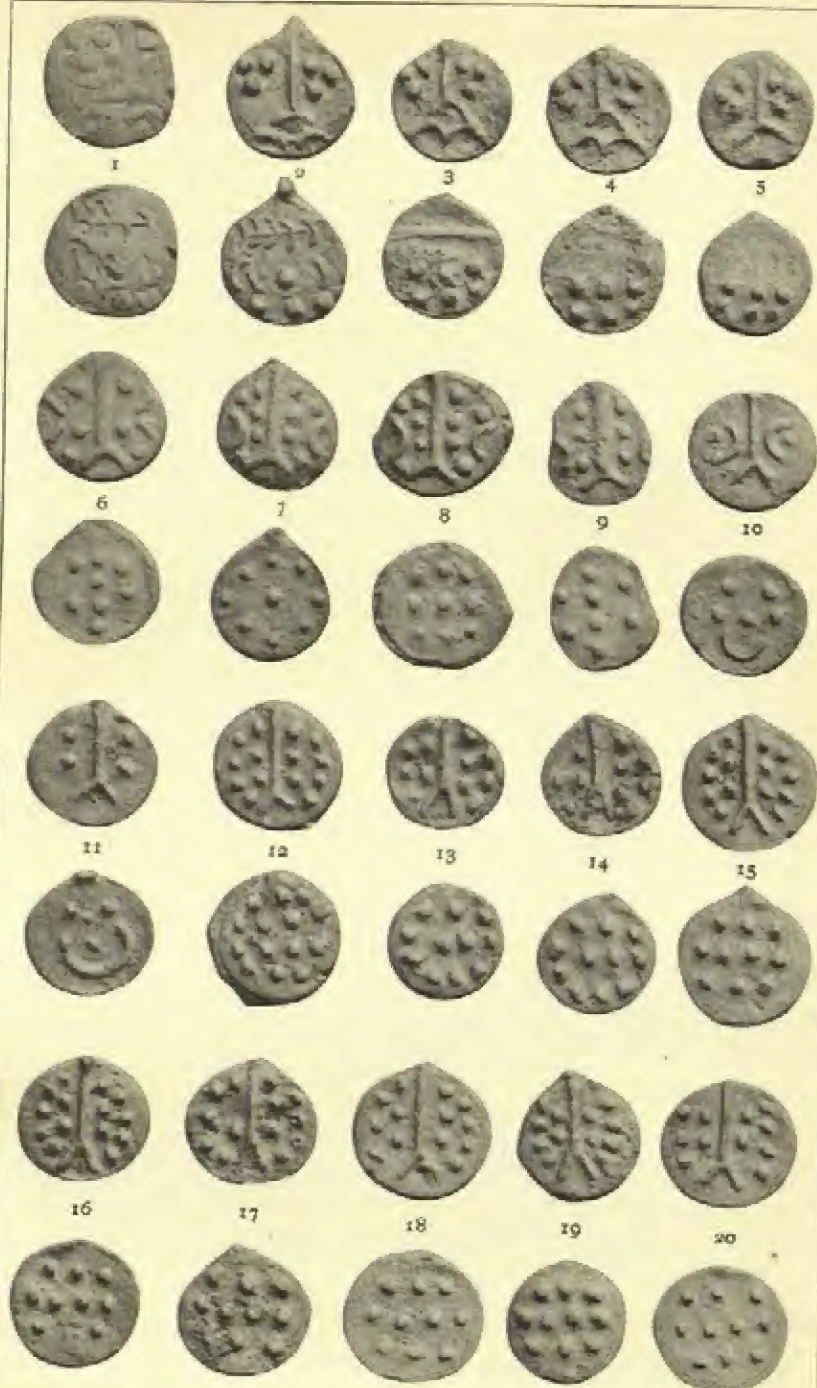


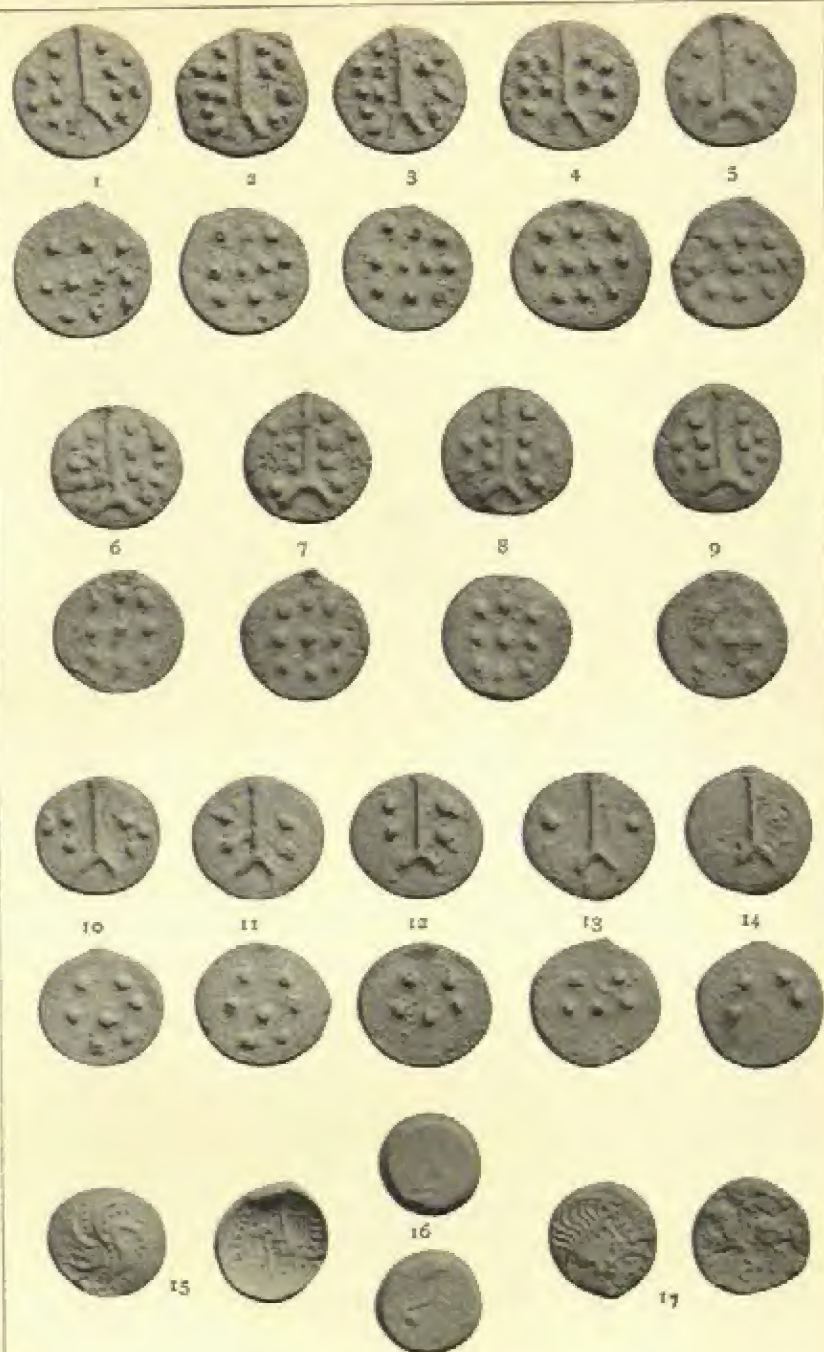
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SOUTHANTS FIND



HAMMERED SILVER COINAGE OF CHARLES II



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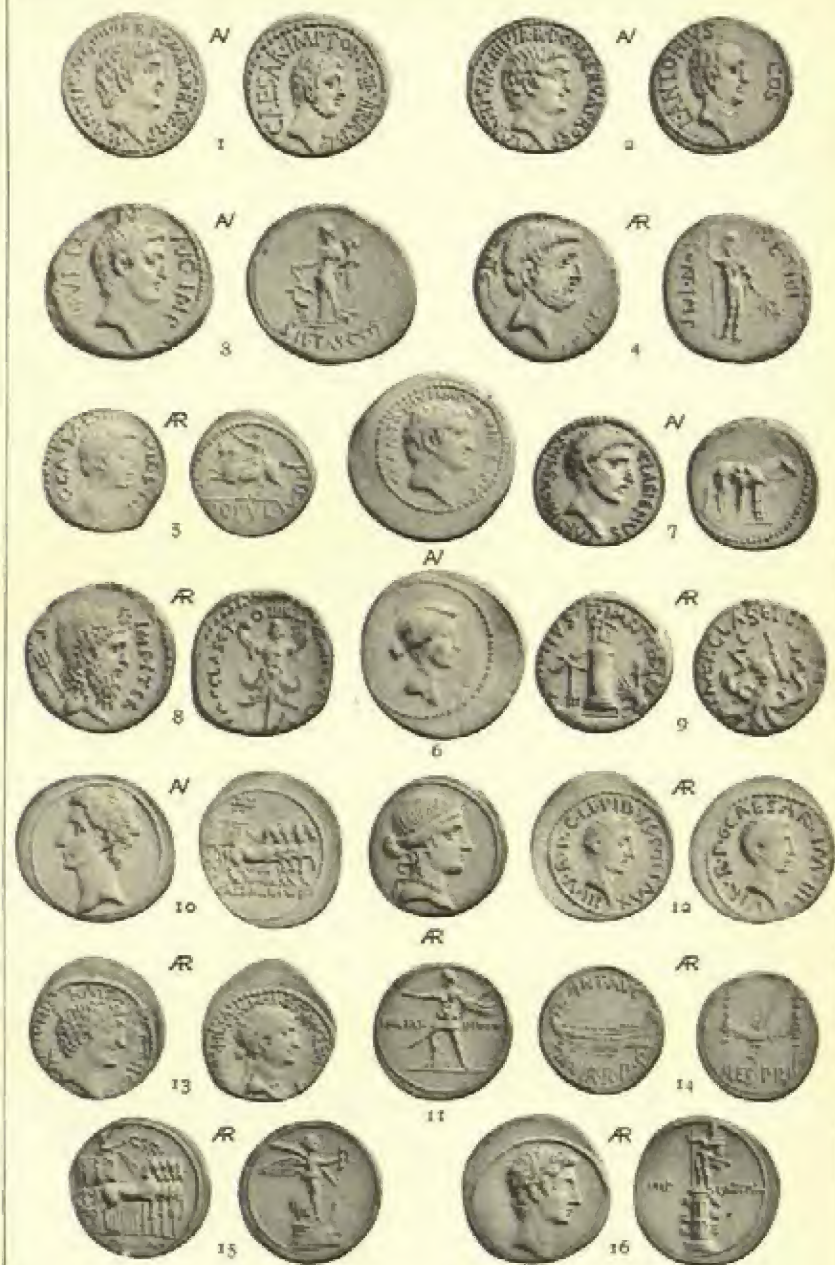
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COINAGES OF ANTONY, LEPIDUS AND OCTAVIAN





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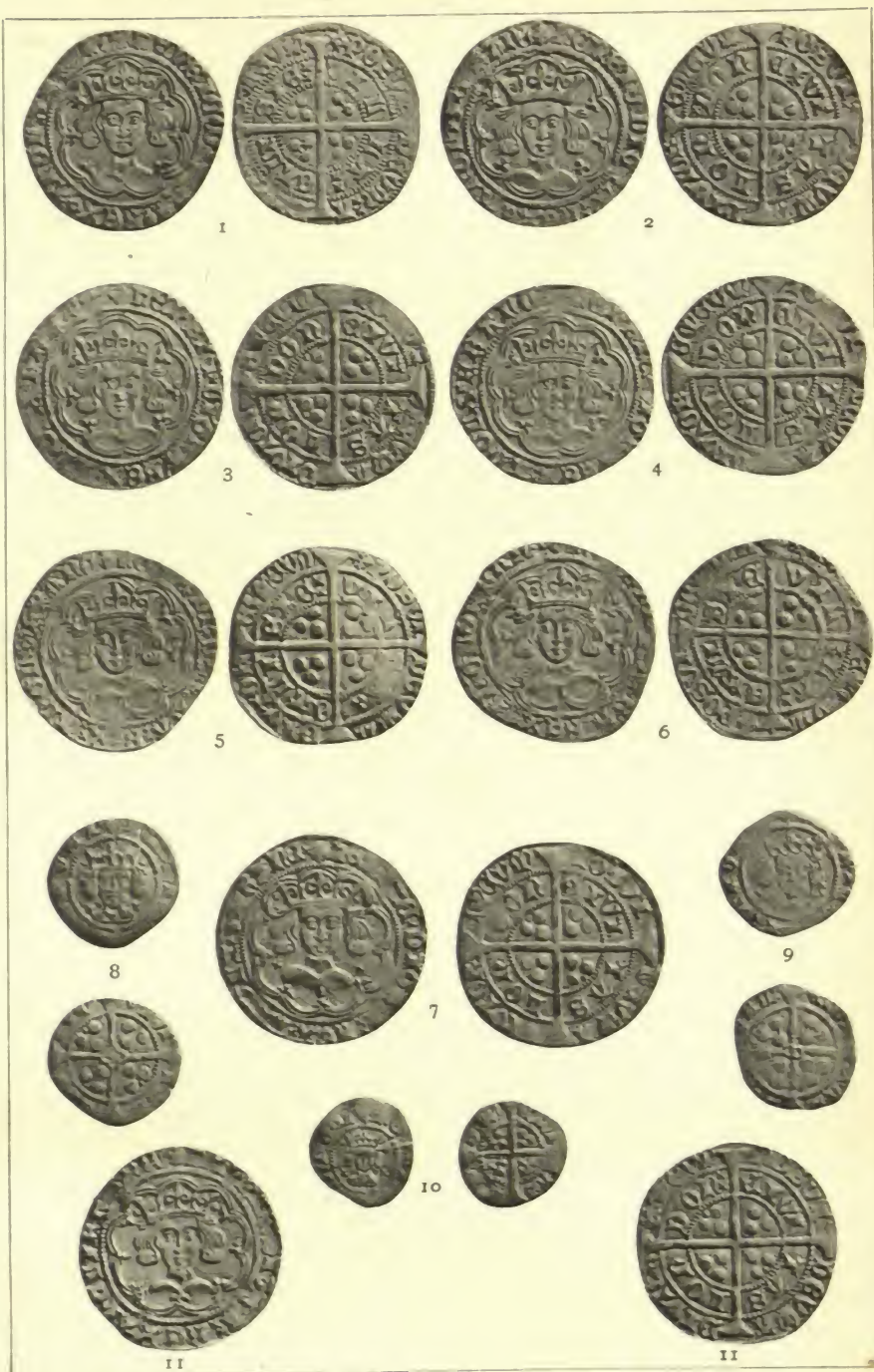
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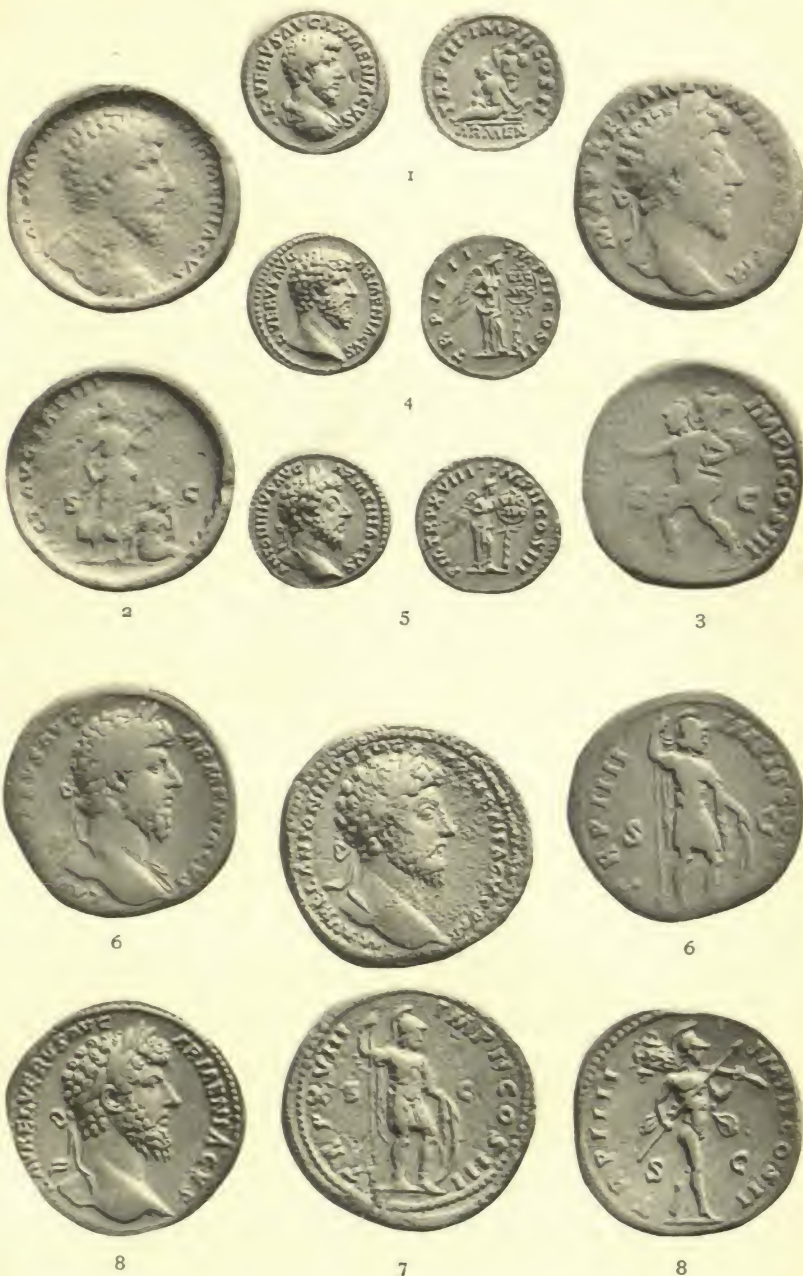
10



11



COINS OF HENRY VI. FROM STAMFORD OR PREVIOUSLY UNPUBLISHED



EASTERN CAMPAIGNS OF L. VERVS

ILLUSTRATED



1



2



3



5



4



6



6



7



8



9

EASTERN CAMPAIGNS OF L. VERVS
ILLUSTRATED





PENNIES OF WILLIAM I (enlarged to $\frac{1}{4}$ of original size)

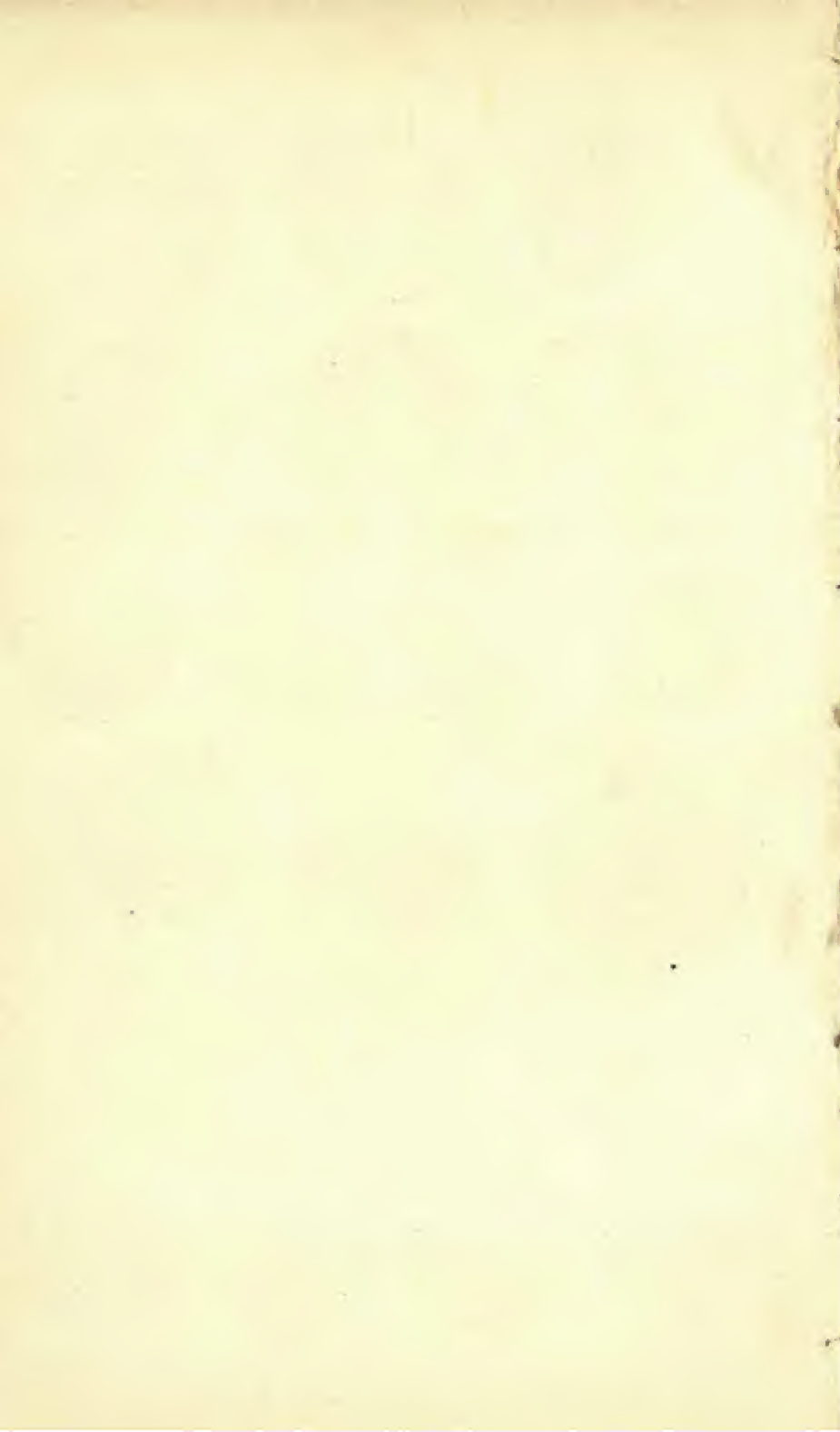


PENNIES OF WILLIAM I (enlarged to $\frac{1}{2}$ of original size)

{ 1, 2. Barnstaple
{ 3, 4. Exeter
{ 5. Canterbury
{ 6. Exeter

{ 7, 8. Guldford
{ 9, 10. Chichester
{ 11. Marlborough
{ 12, 13. Salisbury

{ 14, 15. Salisbury
{ 16, 17. Marlborough





1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12



13



14



15



16



17



18



19



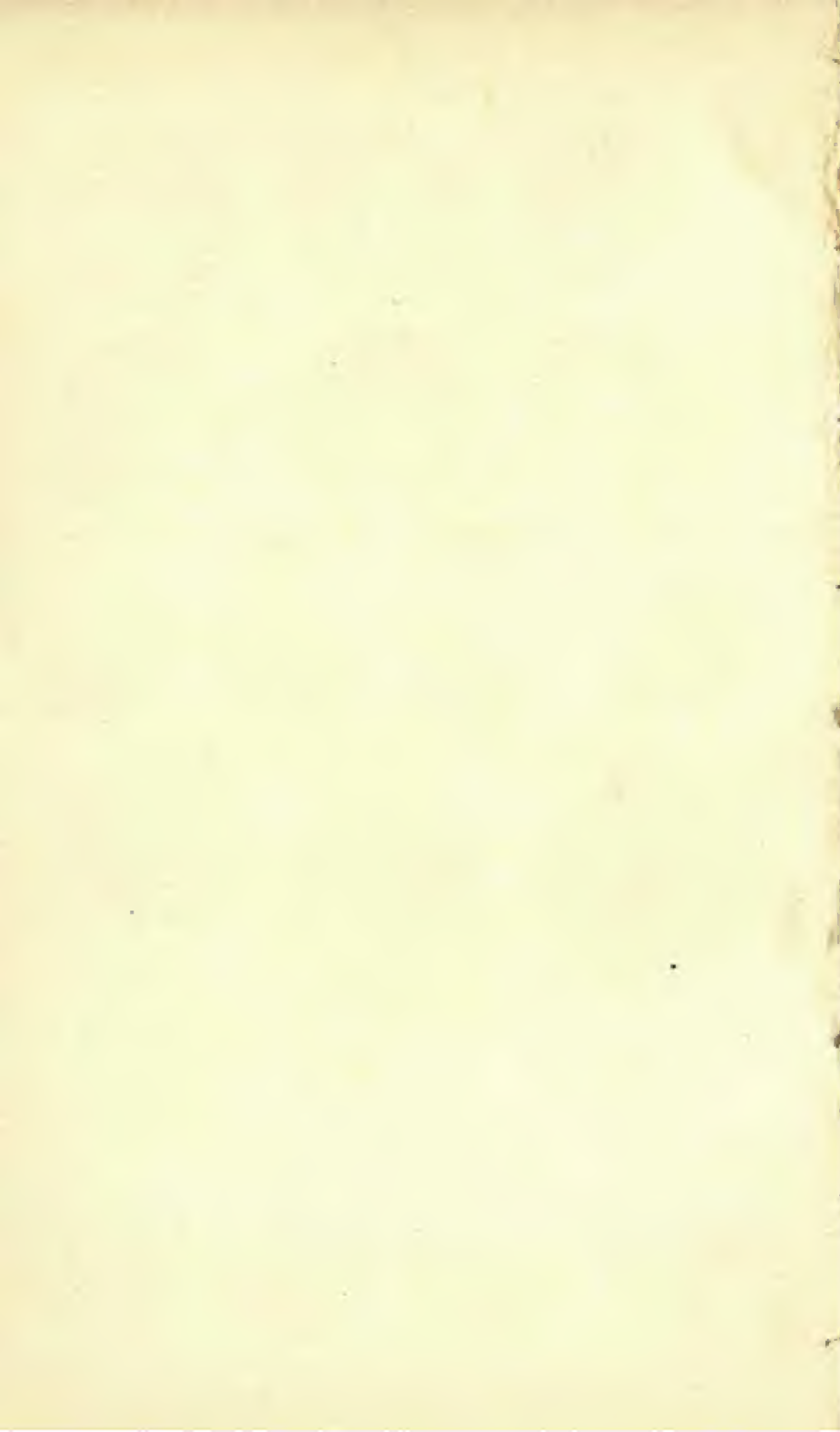
20



21

PENNIES OF WILLIAM I (enlarged to $\frac{1}{2}$ of original size)

- | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| { 1, 2. Salisbury | { 8, 9, 10. Cricklade | { 15, 16. London | { 20. London |
| { 3. Wilton | { 11. Wilton | { 17. Southwark | { 21. Thetford |
| { 4, 5, 6. Wilton | { 12, 13. Shrewsbury | { 18. London | |
| { 7. Salisbury | { 14. St. David's | { 19. Ipswich | |





PENNIES OF WILLIAM I (enlarged to $\frac{1}{3}$ of original size)

{ 1. Thetford
2. Uncertain

{ 3, 4. London
5, 6. Exeter





1



2

3

4



5

6

7



EDWARD III

Nobles { 1351-1360 (A 1-A 3)
1360-1369 (B 1)





EDWARD III

Nobles { 1360-1369 (11 a, B 3) and Half-nobles { 1351-1360 (A 2, A 3)





EDWARD III

Half-nobles, 1360-1369 (B 2, B 3). Quarter-nobles 1351-1369 (A 1-B 3)
Calais Nobles 1262-1269



PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

SESSION 1910—1911.

OCTOBER 20, 1910.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S., F.S.A., President,
in the Chair.

The minutes of the meeting of May 26, postponed from May 19, were read and approved.

The President announced that His Majesty King George V had graciously consented to become Patron of the Society in succession to the late King.

Mr. E. J. Jekyll, J.P., D.L., and the Rev. W. A. Laughlin, M.A., were proposed for election as Fellows of the Society.

The following Presents to the Society were announced and laid upon the table, and thanks were ordered to be sent to the donors:—

1. A. Blanchet: *Monnaies inédites de Victorin et de Tetricus Père.*

2. A. Blanchet: *Notices Extraites de la Chronique de la Revue Numismatique, 1910. Pt. 2.*

3. A. Blanchet: *Premiers Deniers de Lectoure et le sens des Mots Mos et Vox. Nos. 1, 2, 3. Presented by the Author.*

4. R. Dalton and S. H. Hamer: *The Provincial Token Coinage of the Eighteenth Century. Part 1. Presented by the Authors.*

5. E. Demole: De la Codification des méthodes descriptives en Numismatique.

6. E. Demole: Émission irrégulière de Pièces de Six-deniers de Genève en 1654. Nos. 5 and 6. *Presented by the Author.*

7. Sir E. Durning-Lawrence: Bacon is Shakespeare. *Presented by the Author.*

8. F. C. Higgins: The Chinese Numismatic Riddle. *Presented by the Author.*

9. W. J. Hooking: Catalogue of Coins, Medals, &c., in the Royal Mint Museum. Vol. ii. *Presented by the Deputy Master of the Mint.*

10. Vicomte E. de Jonghe: Les Déformations successives des Types sur les Statères d'or Atrébates. *Presented by the Author.*

11. F. Lenzi: La Statua d'Anzio. *Presented by the Author.*

12. Howland Wood: The Canadian Blacksmith Coppers. *Presented by the Author.*

13. Medallie Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland. Plates cxi.-cxx. *Presented by the Trustees of the British Museum.*

14. Nomisma. Part IV. Edited by H. von Fritze and H. Gaebler. *Presented by the Editors.*

15. Annual Report of the Deputy-Master of the Mint for 1909. *Presented by the Deputy-Master of the Mint.*

16. Report of the Madras Government Museum, 1909-1910. *Presented by the Acting Superintendent.*

17. Medal in Silver and in Bronze of the New York Numismatic Club. *Presented by Frank C. Higgins, Esq.*

Periodicals.

18. American Journal of Archaeology. Vol. xiv., Pts. 2 and 3.

19. American Journal of Numismatics. Vol. xlv., Pts. 2 and 3.

20. Annual of the British School at Athens. No. xv.
21. Annual Report of the Horniman Museum.
22. *Archaeologia Aeliana*. Vol. vi.
23. *Battaglie di Archeologie*. No. 6.
24. *Bonner Jahrbücher*. Heft. 118, with Supplement.
25. Bulletin of the Archaeological Institute of America. Vol. i., No. 3.
26. Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique, Mai-Juli, 1910.
27. Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, 1909, Pt. 3.
28. Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique. Nos. 3-8.
29. Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal. Vol. vii., No. 2.
30. Förvännen Middelanden från K. Vitterhets-Historie och Antikvitets Akademi, 1909.
31. Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique, 1909-1910. Pts. 1-4.
32. Journal of the Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Vol. xl., Pt. 2.
33. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Nos. 323-326.
34. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Vol. xxviii., Nos. 3-11.
35. *Revue Numismatique*, 1910. Pt. 2.
36. *Revue Belge de Numismatique*, 1910. Pts. 3 and 4.
37. *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*, 1910. Pt. 2.
38. *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*. Vol. xxviii., Pts. 1 and 2.

Mr. F. A. Walters exhibited a ryal of Edward IV of the type which he attributed to Calais with a fleur-de-lys over the mast of the ship (Fig. 1), and a groat of the York mint of the annulet coinage of Henry VI from the Stamford

hoard; only one other specimen of the latter coin is known in a private collection.



FIG. 1.

There was also shown the medal of the New York Numismatic Club, presented to the Society by Mr. Frank C. Higgins. *Obv.* Bust of Mr. Higgins, first President of the club. *Rev.* Hands holding coin and microscope, and name of the Club.

Mr. H. Alexander Parsons read a paper on "The Coin-Types of Aethelred II" in which he proposed a final classification of the types, and suggested the dates and meanings of their issues. Hildebrand had attributed seven distinct issues to Aethelred's reign and the authors of the B. M. Catalogue eleven. Many of these could not be held to be distinct types. By the elimination of mules, he reduced the number to five, exclusive of the Agnus Dei type, which he would arrange chronologically as follows: i. "Hand" type; ii. "Crux" type; iii. "Quadrilateral" type; iv. "Long Cross" type; v. "Small Cross" type. To these distinctions of reverse corresponded certain well-marked, graduated differences of obverse. In support of this order Mr. Parsons showed that it was consistent with the gradual transition from M-O to ON in the reverse legends. The evidence of finds was also in his favour, though that was not so reliable as might be wished, on account of the incomplete descriptions of the hoards. As regards the first and last types, valuable corroboration was given by the fact that the "Hand" was the last type of

Edward the Martyr, and the "Small Cross," the first of Cnut. Though deprecating the tendency to exaggerate the importance of the evidence of moneyers as a clue to chronology, he showed that this evidence was on the whole in favour of his rather than of Hildebrand's arrangement, as was also the evidence of the mules. (This paper was printed in Vol. X. pp. 251-290.)

NOVEMBER 17, 1910.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S., F.S.A., President,
in the Chair.

The minutes of the meeting of October 20 were read and approved.

Mr. E. J. Jekyll, J.P., D.L., and the Rev. W. A. Laughlin, M.A., were elected Fellows of the Society; while Messrs. B. C. Chetty, J. E. Cree, W. Gunn, D. F. Howorth, T. Nesmith, and the Mitchell Library were proposed for election.

The following Presents to the Society were announced and laid upon the table, and thanks were ordered to be sent to the donors:—

1. Bulletin of the Archaeological Institute of America. Vol. i., No. 40.
2. Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. Vol. xl., Pt. 3.
3. A Literary and Historical Atlas of Europe (with section on English coins by Mr. Roth). *Presented by Bernard Roth, Esq.*
4. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. No. 327.
5. A. Hubl: Die Münzensammlung des Stiftes Schotten in Wien. Vol. i., Roman. *Presented by the Publishers.*
6. Papers of the British School at Rome. Vol. v.
7. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. Vol. xxiii., Pt. 1.

8. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Vol. xxviii., Section C., Nos. 1 and 2.

9. Revue Numismatique, 1910. Pt. 3.

10. Rivista Italiana di Numismatica, 1910. Pt. 3.

11. Year Book of the American Numismatic Association.

Mr. T. Bliss exhibited seven shillings of Charles I of Aberystwith (mm. book and book with inner circle), Bristol (mm. Br.), Exeter (mm. rose), Worcester (mm. pear with four pellets), and York (mm. lion and lion with four pellets).

Mr. L. A. Lawrence showed two forgeries of the "mace" type of Stephen, reading OSWEF . ON . LVND and OSWEF . ON . NORHA . struck on a short-cross, and an Edward penny respectively.

Rev. Edgar Rogers showed a fine series of Jewish coins including four shekels and two half-shekels of Simon Maccabaeus, a specimen of the newly discovered large bronze coins of the second revolt, reading "Jerusalem" instead of Simon, a bronze coin of Eleazar, denarii of Trajan restruck by the Jews, and a coin of Antiochus VII struck at Jerusalem with reverse type, lily.

Mr. E. Shepherd exhibited three specimens of bronze coins of Boeotia restruck on coins of Antigonus I and two base gold Kidāra Kushān coins reading Śrī Shāhi. Mr. Vincent Smith has suggested that the legend is Śrī Vāhi, but these specimens clearly support Cunningham's reading.

Mr. F. A. Walters showed a large brass of Otho struck at Alexandria with reverse bust of Nike, of the greatest rarity (cf. Dattari, *Numi Alexandrini*, No. 335).

Mr. G. C. Brooke read a Paper on "The Coin-types of Aethelred II," in criticism of that read by Mr. H. A. Parsons at the last meeting. Mr. Parsons also communicated a reply to Mr. Brooke. Their chief point of difference was the order of the types, and Mr. Brooke attempted to show that after all Hildebrand's arrangement was the soundest. He

also criticized the views put forward by Mr. Parsons as to the evidence of finds and also to that of mule coins. These papers were printed in Vol. X. pp. 370-380 and 381-387.

The Rev. Edgar Rogers read a short paper on the "Types of the Jewish Shekels." The traditional interpretation of the obverse type as the pot of manna and of the reverse as Aaron's rod that budded, was unsatisfactory. He proposed to interpret these types in the light of certain passages describing Simon, the high priest, the son of Onias, from the Book of Ecclesiasticus, which was composed about the time of Simon Maccabaeus. The obverse type would then be the "vessel of beaten gold" from which the high priest poured out the wine, and the reverse some spring flower, probably a lily, possibly referring to the meaning of the name Simon. This paper is printed in the present volume, pp. 1-5.

DECEMBER 15, 1910.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S., F.S.A., President,
in the Chair.

The minutes of the meeting of November 17 were read and approved.

Messrs. B. C. Chetty, J. E. Cree, W. Gunn, D. F. Howorth, and T. Nesmith were elected Fellows of the Society, and Mr. F. E. Burton, J.P., was proposed for election. The Mitchell Library was added to the List of Subscribers.

The following Presents to the Society were announced and laid upon the table, and the thanks of the Society were ordered to be sent to the donors:—

1. A. Blanchet: *Notices extraites de la Chronique de la Revue Numismatique* for 1910. Pt. 3.

2. A. Blanchet: *Oeuvres d'Art du Moyen Age*. *Presented by the Author*.

3. H. A. Grueber : *Catalogue of Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*. 3 vols., 1910. *Presented by the Trustees of the British Museum*.

4. H. A. Ramsden : *Corean Coin-Charms and Amulets*. *Presented by the Author*.

5. *Bulletin de l'Academie Royale de Belgique*, 1910. Nos. 9 and 10.

6. *Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal*. Vol. viii., No. 1.

7. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. Vol. xxx., Pt. 2.

8. *Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien*. No. 328.

9. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*. Nos. lvi. and lvii.

On the motion of the President, a special vote of congratulation to Mr. Grueber, on the completion of his *Catalogue of Roman Republican Coins in the British Museum*, was unanimously carried.

Mr. F. A. Walters exhibited a light groat of Henry IV, with the name $\eta\epsilon\Omega\text{R}\text{I}\text{C}$ punched over $\text{R}\text{I}\text{C}\text{A}\text{R}\text{D}$, which strengthens the contention that the early or heavy groats of Henry IV continued to bear the name of Richard II.

Mr. H. Symonds showed a rare bronze coin of Magna Urbica with reverse VENVS GENETRIX (Cohen, No. 11) found in Dorsetshire, and a specimen of the base-metal touch-piece of Charles I, pierced for suspension.

Mr. Henry Garside exhibited a very rare pattern sixpence of 1887 having the date above and the value in words below the usual "Jubilee" reverse design.

Mr. W. R. Hubbard showed a denarius of C. Serveilius, 63 B.C., restruck IMP. VES. by Vespasian, and an unpublished large bronze coin of Hierapolis in Phrygia of the second century A.D. *Obv.* Bust of the Senate, IEPA CYNKAHTOC ; *rev.*, Hercules sacrificing at an altar, IEPAΠOΛEITΩN .

The Rev. E. Rogers showed a paper facsimile of a Mexican dollar used at funerals in China.

Mr. Henry Symonds read a Paper on "The Trials of the Pyx, the Mint Accounts and the Mint-marks of Charles I." The proving of the coinage by assay was first regulated by an indenture of Edward III, and the custom followed at varying intervals from that time onward. The standard plates were kept in the Chapel of the Pyx in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey, which is popularly supposed to have been the place of trial, but there is direct evidence to show that at least from 1527 to 1640 the trial took place in the Star Chamber in the old Westminster Palace. The Tower mint alone appears to have been subject to trial; the country mints do not seem to have submitted their productions to be tested. Mr. Symonds quoted from the records the warrant to summon a jury, a report of the proceedings, and the verdict on the trial of the Pyx for 1631. He next proceeded to give a number of interesting quotations from the mint accounts, one of the most important of which was an allowance for payment "5500 tokens of 2*d.* each used for the healing of the King's evil." This proves that Charles I used base-metal touch-pieces (cf. *Medallic Illust.*, pl. xxxiii. 23). This paper was printed in Vol. X. pp. 388-397.

Mr. J. G. Milne read a Paper on "Alexandrian Tetradrachms of Tiberius" from a recent find. Besides one coin of Ptolemy II, the hoard contained 61 coins of Ptolemy XIII, and 136 of the seventh year of Tiberius, soon after which it must have been buried. This paper was printed in Vol. X. pp. 333-339.

JANUARY 19, 1911.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S., F.S.A., President,
in the Chair.

The minutes of the meeting of December 15 were read and approved.

Mr. Frank E. Burton, J.P., was elected a Fellow of the Society.

The following Presents to the Society were announced, and thanks were ordered to be sent to their donors:—

1. G. F. Hill: *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum: Phoenicia.*

2. *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland. Plates cxxi.-cxxx. Nos. 1 and 2. Presented by the Trustees of the British Museum.*

3. Vicomte B. de Jonghe: *Monnaies de Térina. Presented by the Author.*

4. G. Macdonald: *Coins found at Newstead. (Reprint.) Presented by the Author.*

5. *American Journal of Archaeology. Vol. xiv., Pt. 4.*

6. *American Journal of Numismatics. Vol. xlv., Pt. 4.*

7. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Institute of America. Vol. ii., No. 1.*

8. *Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. No. 328.*

9. *Numismatic Circular. Vol. xviii., 1910. Presented by Messrs. Spink & Sons.*

10. *Transactions of the Japan Society. Vols. viii. and ix.*

11. *Revue Belge de Numismatique, 1911. Pt. 1.*

12. *Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Vol. xxviii., Pts. 3 and 4.*

13. Arpan Buday: *Le Limes Romain en Allemagne. Presented by the National Museum of Transylvania.*

14. *Suomen Museo, Nos. xiii.-xvi.*

15. *Transactions of the Finnish Antiquarian Society. Nos. xxi.-xxiv.*

16. *Catalogue of Tokens in the Peterborough Museum. Presented by C. Dack, Esq.*

Mr. G. F. Hill read a Paper on "Classical Influence on the Italian Medal." The medallie art has been described as in a sense the art *par excellence* of the Italian Renaissance; the medal appealed most strongly to Italians of the time by the scope which it gave to the expression of individuality and *virtù*. Ancient coins, especially of the Roman Empire, being found in the soil more frequently than any other kind of antiquity, were the chief means, apart from literature, by which the memory of great men of antiquity was revived, and were passionately admired by humanists from Petrarch onwards. Imaginary portrait-medals were made where real ones were not obtainable. The precursors of the true Renaissance medals were closely modelled on Roman coins or medallions. Pisanello's first medal, of John VIII Palaeologus, continues the series of Roman medallions of John's predecessors in the Roman Empire. But the influence of classical models on Pisanello is merely suggestive; he shows no trace of imitation. The great medallists of the Florentine school imitate ancient models on the reverses of their medals, which are mostly shop-work in which they were not interested, while the portrait-obverses are original in conception and execution.

The medallists of the Roman school in the fifteenth century (such as Cristoforo Gheremia) and of Venice (such as Guidizani and Boldu) were strongly but naïvely influenced by classical models. In the sixteenth century a more sophisticated imitative art arose, of which Alessandro Cesati is the best instance; a group of medals with portraits of Augustus, Priam, Dido, and Artemisia may be attributed to him. Cavino of Padua represents a different school, that of the artists who imitate with intent to deceive. The general inference to be drawn from the study of the subject is that the following of classical models was, except in the case of the greater artists, detrimental to the sincerity and directness of the art. This Paper will not be printed in the *Chronicle*.

FEBRUARY 16, 1911.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S., F.S.A., President,
in the Chair.

The minutes of the meeting of January 19 were read and approved.

Mr. Felix W. Warre was proposed for election as a Fellow of the Society.

The following Presents to the Society were laid upon the table, and thanks were ordered to be returned to their donors :—

1. R. Dalton and S. H. Hamer: *The Provincial Token Coinage of the Eighteenth Century. Pt. ii. Presented by the Authors.*

2. Miss Helen Farquhar: *Portraiture of our Stuart Monarchs on their Coins and Medals. Pt. ii. Presented by the Author.*

3. R. W. McLachlan: *Canadian Card Money. Presented by the Author.*

4. *Handbook to the Horniman Museum. Presented by the London County Council.*

5. *Bulletin de l'Academie Royale de Belgique. Nos. 11 and 12 of 1910.*

6. *Memoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord. 1910.*

7. *Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. No. 330.*

8. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Vol. xxix., Sec. C, Nos. 1 and 2.*

9. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Vol. xlv.*

10. *Revue Numismatique, 1910. Pt. iv.*

Mr. Fredk. A. Walters exhibited a very rare bronze medallion of Antoninus Pius with reverse, the Earth with Four Seasons and a half circle of the Zodiac above

(Cohen, No. 1168). There are specimens of this rare piece in the British Museum and in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Mr. Bernard Roth exhibited a unique gold stater of Dubnovellanus, from the Cove Jones collection, having in addition to the usual symbols a rayed disc similar to that which is found on Gaulish staters of the Vellocasses, a specimen of which was also shown.

Mr. H. A. Grueber read a Paper on the "Coinages of the Triumvirs, Antony, Lepidus, and Octavian, illustrative of the History of the Times." Mr. Grueber selected this period, as in his estimation no other series of coins illustrated more fully or vividly the development and extension of the Roman Empire. The series opened with a coin of Mark Antony bearing his portrait and struck almost immediately after the death of Julius Caesar (44 B.C.), and was continued down to the battle of Actium (31 B.C.). Some of the most remarkable events commemorated were the wars in Sicily with Sextus Pompey; those of Brutus and Cassius in Greece and Asia Minor; and the wars with the Parthians and Armenians. This Paper is printed in the present volume, pp. 109-152.

Sir Henry H. Howorth pointed out how well the period chosen for Mr. Grueber's paper illustrated the great interest of Roman coins as historical documents as contrasted with the lack of historical interest in modern coinage, where the necessities of commerce required that the types of a standard coin should be changed as little as possible. Mr. Walters and Mr. Harrison also spoke.

MARCH 16, 1911.

H. A. GRUEBER, Esq., F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The minutes of the meeting of February 16 were read and approved.

Mr. Felix W. Warre was elected a Fellow of the Society.

The following Presents to the Society were announced and laid upon the table, and the thanks of the Society were ordered to be sent to their donors:—

1. A. Blanchet: *La Trouvaille de Marcillat*.
2. A. Blanchet: *Notices extraites de la Chronique de la Revue Numismatique*. 1911, Pt. 1. *Presented by the Author*.
3. *Medallio Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland*. Plates cxxxi.–cxl. *Presented by the Trustees of the British Museum*.
4. *American Journal of Numismatics*. Vol. xlv., No. 1.
5. *Annuaire de l'Academie Royale de Belgique*, 1911.
6. *Bonner Jahrbücher*. Vol. 119; 1, 2, and 3 with Supplement.
7. *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, 1910. Pt. iv.
8. *The Canadian Antiquarian*. Vol. vii., Pt. iv.
9. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*. Vol. xl., Pt. 2.
10. *Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien*. No. 331.
11. *Numismatische Zeitschrift*. New Series. Vol. iii., 1910.
12. *Zeitschrift für Numismatik: Sitzungsberichte*, 1910.

Mr. F. A. Walters exhibited a series of groats illustrating his paper, containing a number of unpublished varieties.

The Rev. Edgar Rogers showed four tetradrachms of the Second Revolt of the Jews bearing the name of Simon, restruct on tetradrachms of Antioch.

Mr. F. A. Walters read a paper on the "Stamford Find and Supplementary Notes on the Coinage of Henry VI." The hoard of about 3000 late Plantagenet groats, known as the Stamford Find, was discovered on October 22, 1866. Of this hoard 188 specimens were selected for the National Collection; about 50 went to the Stamford Institute, and the

remainder was either disposed of in small portions or else purchased by a London coin-dealer. Mr. Walters was thus able to account for nearly the whole hoard. From a special study of these coins Mr. Walters was able to modify and supplement to a certain degree his previous paper on the coinage of Henry VI, but in the main the hoard confirmed his classification. This paper is printed in the present volume, pp. 153-175.

APRIL 20, 1911.

ARTHUR J. EVANS, Esq., D.Litt., F.R.S., &c., in the Chair.

The minutes of the meeting of March 16 were read and approved.

Messrs. Coleman P. Hyman, W. Longman, and H. Oppenheimer and the Rev. Professor H. Browne were proposed for election as Fellows of the Society.

The following presents to the Society were announced and laid upon the table, and thanks were ordered to be returned to the donors :—

1. P. Bordeaux : *Les Ateliers temporaires établis en 1642 et années Suivantes.*

2. P. Bordeaux : *En Souvenir de M. Emile Caron.*
Presented by the Author.

3. B. V. Head : *Historia Numorum.* 2nd edit., 1911.
Presented by the Delegates of the Clarendon Press.

4. W. H. Valentine : *Modern Copper Coins of the Muham-madans.* *Presented by Messrs. Spink & Son.*

5. *Medallie Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland.* Plates cxli.-cl. *Presented by the Trustees of the British Museum.*

6. *Sotheby's Coin and Medal Sale Catalogues, 1908-1910.* 3 vols., priced. *Presented by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson, & Hodge.*

7. Bulletin of the Archaeological Institute of America. Vol. ii., No. 2.

8. Canadian Antiquary. Vol. xiii., No. 1.

9. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. No. 332.

10. Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. No. lviii.

11. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Vol. xxix., No. 3.

12. Revue Belge de Numismatique, 1911. Pt. 2.

Mr. W. J. Hocking exhibited specimens of recent Imperial and Colonial coins and a composite medal illustrating the effect of blows from the dies in striking; he also explained the process by which the design is transferred from the sculptor's wax model to the actual dies.

Mr. Garside showed a specimen of the very rare proof crown of 1879.

Mr. F. A. Walters brought a fine specimen of the second brass coin of the Empress Domitia struck at Alexandria, of which only one other specimen in much poorer condition appears to be known (Fig. 2).



FIG. 2.

Dr. Arthur Evans exhibited a series of ancient British coins illustrating the gradual degradation of the type.

Mr. G. F. Hill read a Paper on a hoard of Roman and British coins found in South Hampshire near the Dorset border. The hoard, which was contained in an earthenware

pot, comprised 677 pieces in all, including 13 Republican denarii dating from the period 172-151 B.C. to Octavian; two denarii of Tiberius and Vitellius; 21 asses from Claudius to Hadrian; imitations made in Gaul or Britain of denarii and asses (including two of Julius Caesar and Vitellius); 83 silver and 206 copper British coins of the usual South West type; 9 silver British of another known type; 1 silver and 1 copper coin of a type hitherto known to occur only in the Channel Islands; two blanks for striking coins, and—the special feature of the hoard—over 300 cast copper coins showing the final degradation of the native British type, the head on the obverse being represented by a Y-shaped object accompanied by pellets, the horse on the reverse by an arrangement of pellets. Some 40 varieties of this type were distinguishable in the hoard. This paper is printed in the present volume, pp. 42-56.

MAY 18, 1911.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S., F.S.A., President,
in the Chair.

The Minutes of the meeting of April 20 were read and approved.

Rev. Professor H. Browne and Messrs. W. Longman, Coleman P. Hyman, and H. Oppenheimer were elected Fellows of the Society, while Messrs. R. A. Coates and A. H. Cooper-Prichard were proposed for election. Messrs. Frank E. Burton and Felix W. Warre were admitted.

The following Presents to the Society were announced and laid upon the table, and the thanks of the Society were ordered to be sent to their donors:—

1. The Brinton Medal of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia. *Presented by the Society.*

2. A. Blanchet: *Notices extraites de la Chronique de la Revue Numismatique.*

3. A. Blanchet: Numismatique des Empereurs Gaulois. *Presented by the Author.*

4. E. Demole: Correspondence de F. S. de Bally de Montcarra (1691-1767). *Presented by the Author.*

5. S. Ricci: Il "Corpus Nummorum Italicorum." *Presented by the Author.*

6. Bulletin de l'Academie Royale de Belgique, 1911. Nos. 1 and 2.

7. Foreningen til Nordske Fortids Bevarung: Aarsberetning, 1909.

8. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Nos. 333 and 334.

9. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Vol. xxix., Pt. 4.

10. Revue Numismatique, 1911. Pt. 1.

11. Revue Suisse de Numismatique. Vol. xvi., Pt. 3.

12. Rivista Italiana di Numismatica, 1911. Pt. 1.

Mr. W. E. Marsh exhibited a penny of Henry VI struck at Calais of the transitional type from the "annulet" to the "rosette-mascle" coinages; this denomination of this mint and type was hitherto unknown (Fig. 3).



FIG. 3.

Mr. Bernard Roth showed an ancient British quarter-stater of the type *Evans* E. 5, found at Bognor, and Gaulish half- and third-staters of the Unelli, the half-stater being the specimen found at Reculver in 1905, described in the *Proceedings* of the Royal Numismatic Society for March 16 of that year, and recently acquired by Mr. Roth.

Mr. F. A. Walters showed a bronze medallion of Tiberius, struck at Clypaea in North Africa by P. Cornelius Dolabella in 23 A.D.

Mr. Henry Garside showed a set of the 1911 maundy money, and a pattern half-crown of 1875 of the type of the crown.

Mr. Grueber exhibited, on behalf of Mrs. Cripps of Cirencester, a series of very rare or unpublished bronze coins of Carausius, found at Cirencester, with the reverse types, ADVENTVS AVG. (Emperor on horseback); PROVID. AVGVSTA (Providentia seated); LEG XX VLPIA (boar); INVICTVS AVG. (Sol rushing to I.).

There was also shown the Brinton medal of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, presented to the Society.

Mr. G. C. Brooke read a Paper entitled "Notes on the Reign of William I," in which he gave the results of a comparison of the dies of a large series of coins of this reign. The coin attributed to Berkeley was shown to belong to Exeter, and other attributions were similarly corrected. Several instances were given of one obverse die being used by two or more moneyers, and in some cases an obverse die was shown to have been used at two different mints. After briefly considering the question whether London supplied the provincial mints with all their dies, Mr. Brooke showed some instances of a fraudulent moneyer effacing the inscription on his die. Mr. A. H. Baldwin quoted an instance of long-cross pennies struck by different moneyers with the same obverse die. Mr. L. A. Lawrence suggested that dies were made in London, and a puncheon used for obverse dies in which two dies would be exactly the same. Mr. Brooke replied that in the cases he had mentioned of a die being used at two mints traces of rust and other flaws showed the coins to be struck from one die and not from two dies made from one puncheon.

JUNE 15, 1911.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S., F.S.A., President,
in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting were read and approved.

Messrs. L. G. P. Messenger and H. W. Tafts were appointed scrutineers of the ballot for the election of office-bearers.

Messrs. R. Assheton Coates and A. H. Cooper-Prichard were elected Fellows of the Society.

The following Report of the Council was then read to the meeting :—

The Council have again the honour to lay before you their Annual Report as to the state of the Royal Numismatic Society.

It is with deep regret that they have to announce the death of the following five Fellows :—

Colonel D. Lindsay Carnegie.

J. Cove Jones, Esq., F.S.A.	Henry Rowlandson, Esq.
Samuel Page, Esq.	James Verity, Esq.

The Council also much regret to announce the resignation of the following ten Ordinary Fellows :—

H. P. Blackmore, Esq., M.D.	Maurice Jonas, Esq.
J. Dimadale, Esq.	W. E. Murphy, Esq.
H. Elliot Fox, Esq.	A. L. Stride, Esq.
Mrs. Ida Mary Fox.	E. Thurston, Esq.
Reginald Huth, Esq.	A. H. S. Yeames, Esq.

On the other hand, they have much pleasure in announcing the Election of the following seventeen Ordinary Fellows :—

Mitchell Library (F. T. Barrett, Esq.).

Rev. Prof. H. Browné.	Coleman P. Hyman, Esq.
Frank E. Burton, Esq., J.P.	J. Jekyll, Esq., J.P., D.L.
B. C. Chetty, Esq.	L. P. Johnston, Esq.
R. Assheton Coates, Esq.	Rev. W. A. Laughlin, M.A.
A. H. Cooper-Prichard, Esq.	W. Longman, Esq.
J. E. Cree, Esq.	T. Nesmith, Esq.
W. Gunn, Esq.	H. Oppenheimer, Esq.
D. F. Howorth, Esq.	Felix W. Warre, Esq.

The number of Fellows is, therefore :—

	Ordinary.	Honorary.	Total.
June, 1910	294	22	316
Since elected	17	—	17
	311	22	333
Deceased	5	—	5
Resigned, &c.	10	—	10
June, 1911	296	22	318

The Council have to announce that they have awarded the Medal of the Society to Dr. Oliver Codrington, F.S.A., M.R.A.S., for his long and distinguished services to Oriental Numismatics.

The Hon. Treasurer's Report, which follows, was then presented to the Meeting :—

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSE-
FROM JUNE, 1910,

Dr.

THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY IN ACCOUNT

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
<i>Cost of Chronicle—</i>						
To Messrs. Clowes and Sons, Ltd., for printing <i>Chronicle</i>	198	0	5			
„ University Press (Plates for <i>Chronicle</i>)	38	16	0			
„ Artist Illustrators, Ltd. (Engraving Coins)	10	5	9			
„ F. Anderson, Drawing Coins	0	11	4			
				247	13	6
<i>Books, &c.—</i>						
To C. Fox (Bookbinding)	4	1	6			
„ Messrs. Hachette and Co. (Books)	0	3	9			
				4	5	3
<i>Lantern Expenses—</i>						
To Simpson				5	5	0
<i>Rent, &c.—</i>						
To Royal Asiatic Society, Rent	20	0	0			
„ Mrs. Harper, Refreshments, &c.	11	10	9			
				41	10	9
<i>Research Fund—</i>						
To Miss Drucker, Search of Records				5	1	0
<i>Addresses to the King—</i>						
To Waterlow & Sons				9	1	0
<i>Sundry Payments</i>				9	13	4
<i>Balance—</i>						
To Research Fund	10	8	6			
„ General Fund	384	0	11			
				394	9	5
				£716	19	9

MENTS OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY,
to JUNE, 1911.

WITH PERCY H. WEBB, HON. TREASURER.

51.

[illegible]

PERCY H. WEBB, *Hon. Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct.

W. BERESFORD SMITH, }
GEORGE C. BROOKE. } *Hon. Auditors.*

June 14, 1911.

The Reports of the Council having been adopted, the President proceeded to present the Society's Medal to Dr. Codrington, and addressed the Society as follows :—

I have come here to-day in spite of my doctor to share with you in the pleasure of conferring on our very old friend, Dr. Codrington, the only distinction it is in the power of this Society to give, namely, its Medal. When the Council had a few days ago to decide upon whom the honour should be conferred this year it was unanimously agreed that none had greater claims both on account of the scientific value of his work and his personal services to the Society than our Librarian.

It will be well before I say anything more if I recite to you a list of his achievements which has been kindly put together for me by my friend Mr. Allan.

Dr. Codrington was elected a member of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1873, and was appointed Secretary and Editor of the Journal in 1874, a post which he held for several periods during the next twenty years. His first communication to the Society's Journal was on a find of Hindoo Coins at Wai in 1876, in which he described a remarkable series of very early anepigraphous Hindoo coins of previously unknown types. In 1877 he published (with Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī) a most important paper on the coinage of the Andhras, throwing a good deal of light on the chronological arrangement of this puzzling series. This paper has formed the basis of all subsequent work in the series. In 1881 he described a remarkably large find of Oriental coins at Broach. The find evidently was a merchant's treasure of the fourteenth century, and contained a large number of previously unknown coins in gold and silver. In 1883 he published his first paper on the Coins of the Bahmani dynasty and a list of rare and unpublished Amavi coins. An account of the coinage of Kacch was

published in 1887, and his catalogue of the Bombay Society's coins in 1891. In addition to his numismatic writings Dr. Codrington took an active part in the editing of the *Journal*, and the arrangement of the Society's library and coin collections, both of which owe much to the interest he took in them. On his retirement from India the Society elected him a honorary member. Among his more important non-numismatic contributions to the *Bombay Journal* may be mentioned his article on the "Seals of the Kings of Satara," and his location with Khan Bahadur Ardesir Jamsedji of the site of the Lake Sudaršana of the Girnar inscription, throwing much light on the ancient geography of Western India.

On his return from India Dr. Codrington was elected a member of the Numismatic Society in 1886 and soon afterwards Librarian. In 1894 he contributed to the *Chronicle* notes on the Bani Basul and on a rare muhur of Taglak Shah, and in 1895 an important monograph on the coinage of Kacch and Kathiawar. In 1898 he wrote for the *Chronicle* an interesting paper on the coinage of the Bahmanis, which threw considerable light on the history of Southern India in the fifteenth century. In 1902 he published an article on "Rare Coins of the Khalifs," in which he described for the first time many coins of the greatest historical interest.

Dr. Codrington had been elected a member of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1877, and has held for many years the post of Librarian to that Society. Though his official title is that of Honorary Librarian, his catalogue of the Arabic, Persian, Turkish, &c., MSS. in the Society's Library (1892), and the card subject-index to the large collection of books in the library which has been compiled by him, testify to the active part he has taken in the arrangement of the library. To the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society Dr. Codrington has contributed several accounts of collections of coins from Seistan.

In 1889 Dr. Codrington published his *Rare and Unedited Arabic Coins*, which is the catalogue of an important collection of Mongol and Persian coins.

His greatest work, however, is his *Manual of Musulman Numismatics* (1902). This work embodies the results of a lifetime's study of Oriental coins, and contains everything necessary for the decipherment of every coin in the wide field of Muhammadan Numismatics covering a period of twelve centuries, and ranging from Spain to Turkestan. Every legend is given, all the titles used by rulers, a list of dynasties, and an invaluable list of some 1200 mints, which shows an intimate knowledge of the Arab geographers. Since the publication of this book there has been a remarkable increase in the number of students of Oriental coins, particularly in India, and there can be no doubt that this is due to Codrington's *Manual*, which is to the Orientalist what the *Historia* is to the Greek numismatist.

You will agree with me that this list embodies a life's work of extraordinary variety and value. It has not only been devoted to a field of research in itself difficult and largely unattractive, but it has involved a command of several Eastern languages, Indo-European and Semitic, of a gift for disentangling involved Oriental script, of a great mastery of the intricacies of Eastern history in several fields, and of a patient survey of the chronology and of the mints of many Eastern dynasties where kings have left few records except coins.

The harass and toil of most of this work are hardly matched in the more attractive and the more easy paths of similar research in the Western countries. Meanwhile he has maintained towards us, who as you know well are sometimes tiresome and exacting, an unfailing urbanity, and has always been ready to pour out what knowledge he has to assist others. This last is an amiable quality only found in those whose purse of knowledge is full, and who can spare

abundantly of their wisdom to lend or to give to others without feeling much loss themselves.

My dear old friend, I do not know that I can say any more. I feel sure everybody here concurs in the matter of my remarks even if they disapprove of their form. When you look at this Medal it will, we hope, be a pleasant reminder to you of the many friends you have made and of their regard and esteem for you. We also hope you will enjoy that double pleasure for many years, and that your pockets will always be full of mohurs and your heart of gladness.

On receiving the Medal, Dr. Codrington replied:—

Mr. President,—It is a great honour for me to receive at your hands this Medal which the Council have been so good as to award me; but when I think of the Orientalists who have been our medallists in past years—Edward Thomas, Cunningham, Tiesenhausen and Stanley Lane-Poole, who taught me nearly all I know of numismatics—and of the distinguished ones in other branches of our study, names and personalities so familiar to all in this room that I need not mention them—I cannot but feel how unworthy I am to be classed with them, and that your kindness and desire on this occasion to award the Medal to an Oriental student place me in this honourable position.

My work with coins began just thirty-six years ago, when on being appointed Secretary to the Bombay Asiatic Society I found in their Museum among other valuables a fine collection of coins, mostly Oriental, unarranged and uncatalogued. Books on the subject were then but few, and I had to puzzle out a good deal for myself until the first volume of the *British Museum Catalogue of Oriental Coins*, published in 1875, reached me, the first of a series, now extended to sixteen volumes, which make our work so comparatively easy. It was, however, good training for me, and I

soon fell under the fascination of numismatics which probably all here have felt, and this has remained with me ever since.

Not being much of a collector, my work has been chiefly with other people's coins, and my pleasure has been in encouraging beginners to study Oriental coins and to help them in difficulties. Thus I have been associated personally or by correspondence with students in possibly nearly all parts of the world, and they will, I am sure be pleased to hear that the Medal has again been awarded to an Orientalist, however unworthy the medallist himself may be.

I beg to thank you, Mr. President, for all the kind things you have said about me and also to the Fellows for the cordial way in which they have received my name.

The President then delivered the following address :—

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

I must begin what I have to say to-night with an apology for a lapse in my duty, which took place last year very much against my inclination. I was unfortunately very unwell, and was away in Italy, and could not be present therefore at the annual meeting, and I am under obligations to my friend Mr. Grueber for taking my place. I have not been very strong lately, and cannot trust myself to give you an address either in length or in quality worthy of this Society and its traditions, and you will therefore have to exercise one virtue, which we all esteem in others, namely, patience.

In surveying, very shortly, the progress of our science during the last year, we necessarily begin with the coinage of Greece, which in every respect is the crown of our studies. In the unmatched artistic qualities of the coins, and the variety and freshness of the types in the long range of years and of space which it covers, and in the lessons which it has to teach us about the chronology, the history, the

local administration, the religion, and the domestic arts of perhaps the most wonderful race the world has seen. For many years past the coinage of Greece has been studied with assiduity by a long line of English scholars from Leake down to Head, and those whom I may call his pupils.

The last year has seen the production of an epoch-making work on the Greek coinage, in the shape of the second edition of Head's *Historia Numorum*, a work quite unmatched elsewhere, which has occupied its author and other most competent writers for many years. It is a wonderful monument of condensed, precise, and accurate knowledge, in which a multitude of scattered memoirs have been boiled down, and in which the matter has been arranged with singular lucidity. The book is indispensable. We ought to be proud that it was written by an Englishman, and not an Englishman only, but by one whose modesty, urbanity, and unselfishness have been tested by us all, and you will allow me from this chair to congratulate our old friend and colleague, one of the pillars of this Society for nearly half a century, upon his great feat. It is a pity that the necessity of compressing the book into one volume has led to the cancelling of certain portions of it, and we hope it may be possible that they may appear in a supplementary volume or volumes, which shall contain Dr. Head's various contributions to our science.

This is not the only notable work on the Greek coinage which has appeared during the interval I have named. During the last twelve months there has also appeared the twenty-sixth volume of the catalogue of Greek coins in the British Museum. That catalogue is a monumental proof of the assiduity, patience, and learning of its authors. Three or four more volumes will complete it, and we shall then have, in our language, an encyclopaedia of Greek numismatics with only one rival, the *Traité*, now being published by Babelon.

The great collections of Paris and Berlin have both begun

a similar work, and in each case have stopped short at the second volume, and those great collections, save in the volumes referred to, are entirely buried and lost to the world and science, and I am afraid will remain so for a century. Only those can appreciate this loss who have studied the volumes thus published, specially those of Babelon with their overflowing wealth of illustration and out-of-the-way knowledge.

It is true that we are promised, but the work is slowly, very slowly progressing, a vast and complete corpus of all known Greek coins, but this is hardly likely to appear before all of us here are buried fathoms deep. Meanwhile we should have been very thankful if the other great collections in the world had done what the British Museum and the Hunterian Collection have done, in publishing a *catalogue raisonné* of their contents. In this case, as in so many others, the best is the greatest enemy of the good. Do as we will our collections will continue to grow, as will also our knowledge. Meanwhile, let us not forget the heroes that are gone, and when we look at the number of hands which have been employed in our great catalogue, let us remember what was done a long time ago by Mionnet, with his own pen alone. We have advanced greatly since his day in our standards and our methods, but it is on his back nevertheless that we stand.

The latest volume of the British Museum catalogue is a worthy example of the highest level our science has now reached—I refer to Mr. G. F. Hill's catalogue of the Phœnician coins in the Museum. If we compare the volume with that which initiated the series, namely, the catalogue of the Italian coins published in 1873, we shall notice what great changes and improvements have been made. The coins instead of being engraved are photographed, an absolute necessity where niceties of style have to be discriminated. The catalogue itself is preceded by a lordly preface of nearly

150 pages, in which all the most important coins, whether in the Museum or not, are discussed, and the most important in foreign collections are photographed. The whole literature has been industriously searched for illustrative matter, and here may I say that, while English writers figure largely in other fields of Greek numismatics, they are singularly absent from this one. Mr. Hill, in fact, stands alone. Six, Babelon and Reichardt, Luynes and Waddington, and very notably Rouvier, have made special studies of the Phoenician coins, and illuminated their most interesting types, so valuable for the recovery of the mythology and ritual of a region which, lying in between Egypt and Asia Minor, and forming syncretisms with both, has created for us a most puzzling Pantheon, so far away is the religion of the Phoenicians from the faith of their nearest neighbours, and their nearest relatives, the Jews.

It is not possible in these few paragraphs to call attention to the endless interest attaching to these for the most part ugly coins, and to the many points suggested in Mr. Hill's commentary on them. To the casual reader what is, perhaps, the most surprising thing is, the comparative lateness of the series. It is curious that this nation of traders (the Jews and Armenians of the ancient world), who in many districts gave the Greeks their weights and measures, should have lagged so far behind them in having a native coinage.

It may be that the fact of neither gold nor silver nor the ingredients of bronze having existed in Phoenicia, while electrum, or white gold, was found in most of the rivers of Asia Minor under the dominion of the Lydian kings, and the similar existence of large deposits of silver ore in the mountains and islands of Greece, led respectively to the introduction of an electrum coinage in an inland area like Lydia, and a silver one on the mainland in Aegina and Attica, and that the traders of Phoenicia maintained their primitive methods of barter after their neighbours had adopted a currency.

One or two features in Mr. Hill's book can alone be noticed. At last we have the excellent plan adopted of giving the full history and provenance and year of acquisition of each coin in footnotes instead of in the margin, where it would be often crowded. The weights of the coins are given in grammes as well as grains—a very useful equation for those who study the foreign literature. It seems a pity, however, that when the other large collections of Phœnician coins all supply a quota of *desiderata* to the plates, that the largest collection of all, and the richest, namely, that of Mr. Rouvier, of Marseilles, and formerly of Beyrout, should not also have been similarly represented. Mr. Hill makes ample and excellent use of the MS. catalogue of the Rouvier coins, but it would have been very useful and illuminating to have also had figures of his rarest and best preserved coins in this catalogue which for many years to come must be the monograph to which all will turn who want to study the series scientifically. I should like to mention one small fact I noticed, more as a proof of my having read it through and with great interest than anything else. The coin, a *hemichalkon*, numbered 102 under Arados in Mr. Hill's catalogue, is described in Babelon's catalogue of the coins of the Achaemenidae, and is there figured on pl. xxiii. fig. 10. A similar coin from the Berlin Collection is figured on pl. xxxviii. fig. 7, in Mr. Hill's catalogue. Babelon assigns the French coin to Arados without question, and describes the head of the obverse as *Tête tourelée de Tyche*. In the text Mr. Hill classes it with the coins of Arados, while he puts a query after the attribution of the head to Tyche, *op. cit.* 102, p. 15; but on p. 15 he says the attribution is uncertain. To me there does not seem any evidence whatever for assigning it to Arados. The monogram has clearly no reference to the name Arados, nor can I anywhere recognize M. Babelon's *Tête tourelée de Tyche*. The crown on the head is a simple decorated *stephanos*, and is quite unlike the

mural crown occurring on the city goddess we call Tyche, and which is worn by all the Tyches of Arados.

Turning to the *Chronicle*, we owe to Dr. Ettore Gabrici the description of a new coin and a new mint. The obverse consists of a bull with the head reversed, while the other side of the coin has the same type in incuse, like the coins of Sibaritis, but with the letters SO in the field. Dr. Gabrici attributes it to Sontini, one of the cities of Lucania mentioned by Pliny.

We have also had an interesting paper from Mr. Seltman on some rare tetradrachms from Sicily, four of them of Thermae Himerenses, two with the name of the town, and two others which Mr. Seltman assigns to the same place from their marked resemblances of type and style, but which are anepigraphic. They were all issued under the influence of the Carthaginians after they had restored the old city of Himera. A fifth coin, belonging to Camarina, exists in three specimens, and is remarkable for its style and strong design. The obverse has on it the bearded head of Melkarth, and the reverse the figure of Carthage or Dido with a Phrygian helmet, driving a quadriga. The first letters of the artist's name are EXI, thus presenting us with the signature of a new artist. A sixth tetradrachm, without any inscription on it, but with a reverse like those of the coins from Himera above-named, Mr. Seltman assigns to Camarina, because of the swan in the exergue, a bird closely connected as a type with that town.

While discussing Greek coins I ought to refer to the series of papers on the coins of Sicily and Magna Graecia which our colleague, Mr. Hands, has been publishing in the *Numismatic Circular*, and which I am glad to see referred to with appreciation in a foreign periodical. He has gathered round the coins which he discusses with insight a very large mass of interesting geographical, mythological, and historical matter, which cannot easily be found collected elsewhere,

and out of which he has woven a very entertaining conspectus of Southern Italian and Sicilian history in the days of Greek domination.

We will now turn to the Roman series.

In my previous address I mentioned, in presenting the Medal of the Society to Mr. Grueber, that the great work to which the larger part of his life had been devoted, namely, the description and arrangement of the Republican series of Roman coins, was complete and about to be published, and I postponed a notice of it until a subsequent address. Most of you no doubt have seen it, a lordly work in three stout volumes, with over a hundred plates; but few of you can have read it, as I have read it, through more than once, and can therefore realize the wealth of new information, and new induction, and the innumerable corrections of ancient and modern errors which it contains, together with a vast mass of historical and archaeological matter, quite indispensable to the historian of the future, with which it is packed.

Its author had the good fortune of being tied by personal friendship with the older students of Roman numismatics, a class which has almost died out. We were always famous in the early days for our collectors of Roman coins, and nearly all the great rarities have at one time or another been in English hands, and we all know intimately the names of Pembroke and Northwick and Devonshire, of Trattle and Tyssen and Thomas, of Wigan and De Salis, and Evans. But we are apt to forget, however, how much we owe, not merely to English collectors, but to English students of the Roman series. Among the older men was Madden, whose illuminating papers take up so much room in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, but towering above them all, the first man who really applied scientific induction to the Roman series, who first taught us the value of arranging the coins of the Republican series chronologically, instead of by moneyers, and in the later series the enormous advantage of

arranging them under mints, and whose wonderful eye was the first to discriminate the products of the Imperial from the local and provincial mints by their style. All this and much more we owe to De Salis, a name hardly known to many collectors, for he wrote few papers, and was fastidious and modest to a fault. His life's work is incorporated in the collections of the British Museum, which were arranged by himself according to his own theories, and which he enriched with the gift of thousands of coins, many of them of the greatest rarity, or unique, and which he slipped into their places without telling any one, with only the labels to tell the story.

The work of De Salis is lavishly acknowledged by Mr. Grueber on every page of his catalogue, where may also be found references to the whole modern literature on the subject; so much is this the case that we are apt in reading his book to overlook the fact that it is essentially his work, and is full of his perspicacity, wide knowledge, and acuteness. He is leaving the Museum in November, and he will leave it in this work a noble parting gift.

Let me, in a paragraph or two, call your attention to some other than the numismatic interest attaching to the book. Many of you know what fierce discussions have taken place about the credibility of early Roman history, about the respective merits of Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and about how much of what they reported was reliable tradition, and how much of it they invented to glorify and flatter the old Roman families. Well, as now arranged, the coins supply us with evidence on the matter which is of some importance. The moneyers after a certain date adopted the plan of putting on the reverses of the coins representations of the heroic deeds of their ancestors, and thus we have, going back beyond Livy and Dionysius, and their older brother, Fabius Pictor, a gallery of pictures of the Roman family legends upon which to begin our criticism, which, however

fabulous in parts, have in others a very respectable pedigree.

Again, there has been a good deal of discussion in regard to the value of Roman tradition before the Gallic War. The newest lights from the coins seem to support the notion that before the Gallic War, Rome was a city of quite secondary importance. It is at least remarkable that we should have no Roman coins dating from before that catastrophe, when coins were well known both in Etruria and Latium, and it seems incredible that if Rome had been anything like what the popular histories would have us believe it should not also have had a coinage of its own. This completely supports the very remarkable absence of any inscriptions dating from before the Gallic War, save one or two which come to us from extremely primitive times. It is quite incredible that the Gauls should have completely swept away every trace of inscription on stone, or metal, existing when they took the place. This also confirms the view of those critics who date the text of the Twelve Tables from after the Gallic invasion. This view has been supposed to be incompatible with the mention of certain coins in them which have hitherto been dated from before the Gallic invasion, and which we now know to date from after it.

Of course, a book which takes a long time to print is apt to become a little out of date in certain points, and I will name one in which my judgment, if I may venture to quote it, does not agree with my friend, but does agree with Dr. Haeblerlin, namely, that none of the oblong bronze pieces formerly attributed to Rome belong to that city, but in every case belong to Latium, or the Oscan country, so that coins represented on the four initial plates in the volumes ought, in my judgment, to be transferred to Central Italy.

The earliest Roman coinage, I have no doubt, consisted of cast round pieces, and not of quadrangular ingots, with symbols on them, and there is no evidence that Rome had a coinage at

all until the first half of the 4th century B.C. The apparently primitive rudeness of the earlier cast pieces is due to the roughness of the dies. The style of the various types is not primitive but only coarse.

Another most interesting feature in the Republican series when arranged in the fashion in this catalogue is the series of Roman portraits contained on the coins. It is generally held that it was not permissible until the time of Julius Caesar to put the portrait of any living person on the coins. The moneyers, however, were allowed thus to commemorate their fathers and grandfathers and other ancestors, who had done the State great service. Of course many of these pictures of the heroic men are quite ideal and fanciful, although it is curious how certain types arose and were maintained, especially in the case of the more famous heroes and those of the early heroic kings.

In regard to the later ones their individuality is so marked that it seems impossible to doubt that they are real portraits derived doubtless from the family portrait gallery of busts in wax and other materials preserved by each of the great families, and which were duly carried in procession at the funeral of its members. In regard to one of these portraits I have a theory of my own which I venture to offer, and which involves a departure from the views hitherto published. It is generally supposed that Julius Caesar was the first person who put his own portrait on a Roman coin. I venture to think that a similarly daring act was committed by a very great personage who lived a generation before Caesar, who was almost as great as Caesar himself, and quite as daring and regardless of popular opinion,—I mean the Dictator Sulla. He was the first Roman to dare to strike gold coins in his own name, although not in Italy, but when in command of the Eastern army. I believe he not only put his name, but his portrait on some of his coins, the head is so striking, so individual, and so like the description of the

man as given us, who was treated as a demigod by the Patrician party and given an Imperial funeral, that I have very little doubt myself that on the coins I refer to we are able to look face to face upon that splendid specimen of the proudest caste the world has ever seen, namely, the Roman patriciate. The Romans were at one time great admirers and imitators of the Seleucid kings, and in the East where personal adulation of successful men was very great, it is perhaps not to be wondered at that the ever-victorious general should have been thus honoured and with his own approval.

The enormous mass of materials condensed in Mr. Grueber's three volumes made it impossible to complete the subject as I hope it will some time be completed, if we are to make the Roman coins a real scaffold composed of absolutely contemporary documents for the historian to build upon. Babelon in his older work incorporated in his volumes a list merely of the coins struck by the various cities of the Eastern world, either issued by various Roman generals or after their incorporation by the Romans. These coins are generally classed as Imperial Greek and made continuous with the autonomous Greek coins issued by the cities which struck them, but it seems to me their interest is quite as great, if not greater, as Roman documents showing the gradual growth of that mighty Empire, and that they should be treated both geographically among the Greek coinages of the East and also under their Roman masters.

Another smaller series might well also be discussed in such a supplementary volume or perhaps in a paper in the *Chronicle* by Mr. Grueber himself, namely, the coins styled "Restored," which were reissued by the Emperors, notably by Trajan, and which present some very interesting problems.

Concurrently with the appearance of Mr. Grueber's catalogue there appeared a very fine work on a great scale, dealing

with the early bronze coinage of Rome and Central Italy, by Dr. Haeberlin, of Frankfurt, who has long been known as a devoted student of the series, and who has made a wonderful collection of it. I need not enlarge upon this quite indispensable work, which has already been referred to in suitably complimentary terms by Mr. Hill in the *Chronicle*. I can only say that when the first volume of the Greek catalogue is re-edited, which it is to be hoped will be before very long, the whole of the Bronze series described in it will have to be revised on a great scale.

In this behalf may I also mention a notable paper, which is most suggestive, and seems to me largely very convincing, written by my friend Mr. J. R. McClean, entitled, "A Metrological Note on the Coinage of Populonia." What is specially suggestive is, what he has to say on the fallacy of averaging a large series of very divergent weights in the coins, and using this as a standard index. The divergence in question is so great, and so continuous, that I know of no theory that will completely account for it; it would seem, in fact, that bronze was so common and cheap at one time that the mints were indifferent about the accurate weight of the pieces, and that there was no normal standard or unit generally recognized. I am of course speaking only of the Bronze coinage.

Turning from the Republican to the Imperial series, we have had a notable paper from our Treasurer on the coinage of Julian, whom he rightly styles the Philosopher. He has divided this coinage into three series, one from the time he became Caesar, until he became Augustus, the second one till the death of Constantius on November 3, 361, and the third during the rest of his reign, which correspond, very closely, with the three types of his coinage. These he has distributed among the fourteen mints which issued coins in his name. One very suggestive part of his paper is that in which he deals with Julian's religious attitude as represented on the coins.

I have always felt that that attitude was in no wise a recurrence to the ancient paganism of Rome, but rather a setting up in opposition to Christianity of the newer gods and goddesses which had been more recently added to the Roman Pantheon and whose cult had been idealized by passing through the crucible of the Alexandrian Philosophers. May I suggest to my friend how interesting it would be if he were to write a monograph on the introduction and spread of this new theology, as illustrated by the Imperial coinage.

A second notable paper on the Imperial series is that of Mr. C. Harold Dodd on the use of the word Pius, as a cognomen, by the Emperor Antoninus. He illustrates the meaning of the word by the large series of the coins of Antoninus with the type of Pietas, which he explains with Pausanias, as meaning that he was conspicuous for the reverence he paid to the Divine. The case he makes out seems conclusive.

Mr. J. G. Milne lately read a paper before the Society, involving one of those puzzles which seem to baffle solution, an account of a hoard of 300 tetradrachms lately found in Egypt, of which 136 were issued by Tiberius, the rest being normal Ptolemaic coins. Those of Tiberius, however, are very puzzling. They are rough in style, some of them with the head of Augustus, and others with that of Tiberius; they vary in weight from $5\frac{1}{2}$ to $13\frac{1}{2}$ grammes, while the proportion of silver in them varies from 61 to 29 grammes. That they are not private forgeries is almost proved from the fact that they are nearly all from different dies, and it would seem that, however issued, they must have come from the public mint, where the corruption of the moneyers must have been phenomenal, and yet how the money-changers and bankers could have been taken in, unless the coins were never weighed, and never analysed, is very puzzling, so is the difficulty of understanding how commerce could have been carried on on

such terms. It is interesting to know that these tetradrachms of Tiberius were withdrawn from circulation *en masse* directly after his death, and do not occur in hoards containing the coins of the later Emperors.

A still greater puzzle attaches to a hoard of coins from South Hants, recently described in the *Chronicle* by Mr. Hill. They consist of both silver and brass coins, 13 Republican denarii and one imitation, 2 Imperial denarii and one imitation, 30 Imperial brass and 14 local imitations, and 298 British coins of base silver.

If these had been all they would have afforded us little difficulty; it would have been an ordinary hoard of British-made imitations with a certain number of Roman coins. The puzzle attaches to the fact that, with these coins, occur a large number, 306 altogether, which seem to me to have a very doubtful claim to be called coins at all. They are in no sense imitations of other coins we know; they are marked with a greater or less number of dots; a large number of them also have on them a kind of two-pronged fork, on what we may call the obverse, while others also have small crescents. They vary in weight from 25.3 grains to 53.2 grains with every intermediate grade.

Let us remember that the hoard was deposited, as late or later than the third Consulate of Hadrian, when, so far as we know, the whole of South Britain had been completely Romanized, and lastly, the dots are arranged in every kind of order, and their number is quite incommensurate with the weight of the coins. Some of the dots, by the way, are united by little straight lines, and others by crescents. These coins are all cast. Further, this type of thing, be it a coin or something else, has, so far as I know, only occurred in this find. Can it be that the discs are counters of some kind, or were used in some game, or possibly, in some magical process? Who can tell?

We are, at all events, very grateful to Mr. Hill for

presenting the facts so clearly, and giving us figures of all their forms.

In the Anglo-Saxon series we are limited to three papers, all, strangely enough, dealing with the coin-types of Aethelred II, over the arrangement of which a most entertaining and illuminating battle royal has taken place between Mr. Parsons and Mr. Brooke, both Fellows of the Society. Whatever else may be said, we are all grateful here when fights of this kind take place in a good-humoured way, for we, at least, must profit by the sifting of the facts and the inferences, and we can only hope that both will live a long time, and have many a merry bout over the coins of the most unfortunate of our kings, who has been hardly treated by history, for he never had a chance, and the abundance of whose coins, in the northern museums, compared with them here, is a good measure of the way we were plundered, and made to pay toll, by the pirates in that miserable tenth century.

In the *British Numismatic Journal* for last year, Mr. Carlyon-Britton has a most useful paper on uncertain Anglo-Saxon mints, and some new attributions, with a special supplement on the Winchcombe Mint. Some of his contentions will no doubt lead to polemics, but, in the main, it seems to me, he has made out his case, which is based on a large amount of material.

A second very notable paper by Mr. Roth is profusely illustrated, and is the result of a very conscientious survey of all the great collections in the north of Europe in public and private hands. The paper deals with that most puzzling and difficult series, the Hiberno-Danish coins, and virtually the whole of the material is now for the first time published and photographed.

It rather breaks our hearts when we look over this long series of largely unintelligible inscriptions to find how very few indeed can be read. It would certainly have been a grievous disappointment to my late friends, Vigfusson and

York Powell, who expected a great deal from the publication of this series, and were always pressing me to get those in the British Museum published, to find how little the coins can do for us in helping to fix the dates and the pedigrees of the Irish kings of Dublin, Limerick, and Waterford. We must congratulate our friend and colleague on his fine addition to the numismatic literature of these islands.

Coming down a little later we have had a most excellent paper in the *Chronicle* on that interminable and most fascinating subject, the Chronology of the Short-cross Period, by Mr. Brooke. This has been the field where many champions have fought, and it shows how much can still be done by one so well equipped as a scholar and an historian, and who has had a very large series of coins to discuss in solving puzzles needing a nice judgment and insight to solve. It is very pleasant to think that Mr. Brooke has now in hand the beginning of the British Museum Catalogue of the post-Conquest coins, and you will agree that no one is likely to do it better than the author of this ideal paper.

In the *British Numismatic Journal* I ought to mention a short but very suggestive paper by Mr. Shirley Fox on Die-making in the twelfth century. In the same volume there is a long and very interesting paper, beautifully illustrated, by our colleague, Miss Helen Farquhar, on the portraiture of our Stuart Monarchs. It is full of interest, and full of the original research we expect, and never fail to get, from our colleague, whose storehouse, of untapped information, on the subject she has made her own, seems inexhaustible.

On the same period we have a quite excellent paper, in our *Chronicle*, containing new facts, well condensed and clear, by Mr. Henry Symonds, on the trials of the Pyx, the Mint-marks and the Mint Accounts of Charles I, and also a monograph by Mr. T. H. B. Graham, on the hammered money of Charles II, of which he has quite an unrivalled collection.

In the field of Oriental numismatics there has appeared

during the past year a very useful and much-needed work by Mr. W. H. Valentine, on the *Modern Copper Coins of the Muhammadan States*, containing seventy-eight plates and six maps, and published by Messrs. Spink and Co. This class of coins has been much neglected, nor are they very attractive to the eye. What was needed was that some patient scholar should survey the field, and prepare a manual to help students to decipher the inscriptions on the coins, and to guide them through the mazes of Eastern mints. The book is divided into several sections, each with an historical introduction and a map showing the mints, and it contains a list of mints, genealogical lists of metrological notes, tables of the Arabic and Georgian alphabets, and a vocabulary of Arabic words and numerals occurring on coins.

This completes what I have to say about the literature referring to coins proper. I have still a word or two to add on the subject of medals.

It was a great venture when Sir Augustus Franks and Mr. Grueber co-operated in bringing out their very familiar work on English medals, known as the *Medallio Illustrations of English History*, in which were incorporated the notes made during a long series of years by Hawkins, whose unrivalled collection of the medals themselves is now at the British Museum. It was a natural supplement to this monograph that we should also have an atlas in which as many as possible of these medals should be illustrated, not by engravings, but according to modern methods. Upon this work Mr. Grueber has been engaged for some time, and every one present must have long ago realized the care, patience, and industry which he has devoted to it in addition to his many other duties. It is now approaching completion, and I understand that he wishes before leaving the Museum in November that the whole work should be out. There is nothing like it on the same scale, and with such perfection of workmanship. We owe him our thanks and congratulations.

We hope it will not be long before the very fine collection of foreign medals in the Museum is treated in the same way, and we have in Mr. Hill a very competent person, who has, perhaps, only one rival in his knowledge of this series in these realms, namely, Mr. Rosenheim. During the past twelve months he has published in the *Chronicle* a further proof of what I am saying in a very interesting monograph on the medals of Pope Paul II, in which all the types are, I believe, figured. They form a very remarkable show, quite a new departure in our studies, and also prove how rich is the medallic section of our Museum.

It is right that I should also mention a third work, which has been periodically in process of production in this country and of which several volumes have appeared, giving the biographies and describing the work of all the known medallists of all countries, and very generously illustrated. I refer to the very fine work, very widely appreciated, of my friend Mr. Forrer, our Fellow. It is to be hoped that he will be able to complete this work on the same scale, and with the same precision and accuracy, which mark those portions already published.

I must now conclude, and I must do so as I commenced, by an apology for the quality of my address, due to circumstances outside my control. Let me thank you for the kind consideration you have shown me during my enforced absence from many of your meetings, and for the unfailing gentleness and urbanity which I have met from every officer of the Society, from its Council, and from all its members.

On the motion of Mr. Roth a vote of thanks was accorded the President for his address.

The President then announced the result of the ballot for the election of office-bearers for the session 1911-1912 as follows :—

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